

**INDIGENEITY, AUTONOMY AND NEW CULTURAL SPACES:
THE DECOLONISATION OF PRACTICES, BEING AND PLACE
THROUGH TOURISM IN ALTO BÍO-BÍO, CHILE**



A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography
at the University of Canterbury

by
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In memory of Eduardo Schalscha B., Opita, my grandfather.
For his endless curiosity, love and encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the engagement of a group of Mapuche-Pewenche communities with tourism in southern Chile. I argue that Trekaleyin, their tourism initiative, is part of a broader and long history of resistance and struggles for autonomy, territory and decolonisation, in which identity, development, agency and relations with other beings are negotiated, revitalised and re-produced.

From my experience working as a development practitioner with these communities in the beginnings of Trekaleyin, I became interested in understanding the ways in which, as a collective experience, it is embedded in and articulated with political concerns and contestation with regards to neoliberalism and multiculturalism. I also became interested in how the communities are incorporating and reactivating diverse and solidarity economies in their work on tourism, while at the same time reworking their relations with and the market economy itself. I suggest that through Trekaleyin, the communities are also re-producing a relational and open sense of place and connectivity, mobilising particular ways of knowing, being and relating to territory and more-than-human beings in a context of global neoliberalism, reshaping scales and their possibilities.

With this thesis I aim to explore how, through their engagement in tourism, community members are disrupting, expanding and hybridising discourses and practices around development, the economy, nature and cross-cultural relations, reworking them so as to craft a better position from where they can participate in them, but the consequences of which extend beyond the “local”, affecting us all, both indigenous and non-indigenous. Therefore, from an ethnographic site and poststructural, post-human and decolonising geographic approaches, this thesis brings new perspectives to the study of development, tourism and the environment, particularly among indigenous peoples, in which autonomy, hybridity, diversity and relational ontologies are articulated.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

	Spanish	English
ADI	Area de Desarrollo Indígena	Indigenous Development Area
CMN	Consejo Monumentos Nacionales	National Monuments Council
CONADI	Corporación de Desarrollo Indígena	National Corporation for Indigenous Peoples' Development
CONAF	Corporación Nacional Forestal	Forest National Corporation
CONAMA	Comisión Nacional del Medio Ambiente	National Commission for the Environment
CONFECH	Confederación de Estudiantes de Chile	Confederation of Chilean Students
CORFO	Corporación Nacional de Fomento	Promotion National Corporation
ENDESA	Empresa Nacional de Electricidad S.A.	Electricity National Company Inc.
FECH	Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile	Student Federation of the Universidad de Chile
FOSIS	Fondo de Solidaridad e Inversión Social	Solidarity and Social Investment Fund
ILO	Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT)	International Labour Organisation
SEPADE	Servicio Evangélico para el Desarrollo	Evangelical Development Service
SERNATUR	Servicio Nacional de Turismo	Tourism National Service

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION:

RESEARCHING TOURISM, RESISTANCE AND DEVELOPMENT WITH PEWENCHE COMMUNITIES



Members of Trekaleyin visiting a lagoon in the Andes Mountains
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

Introduction

In February 2009, on a bright summer day, I was invited to join a group of elders and community members on a trip to a lagoon in the Andes Mountains. The lagoon is a very special place, and they were travelling there because they were planning to improve an existing camping site. Although cars are not normally allowed, we arrived in a jeep as the visit had a very specific purpose

and getting there by horse would have taken several hours. When we were getting ready to leave, dark clouds appeared from nowhere and cold, strong winds started to blow. We hurried into the jeep, and as soon as we were inside, a storm that lasted until midnight started. Everybody was surprised, but also everybody had suspicions about the cause of the sudden change of weather. After some time travelling in silence, one of the elders commented that most probably we had caused the storm. The mountains and lagoons in Alto Bío-Bío are very “jealous”, and when people do not show respect and behave properly they get angry and unusual things happen, such as abrupt weather changes. We disrupted this balance and upset the *ngens*¹ (spiritual owners) of the lagoon and the mountain by arriving by jeep, but more serious than that, as they later reflected that day, because they were doing something that might not be right, which is making money by showing their territories to strangers. Despite their careful management of tourism, and their belief that it is one of the best options they have to strengthen their autonomy, culture and material wellbeing, community members involved in tourism, as this story illustrates, find themselves constantly trying to make sense of situations that are not always easy.

Indigenous peoples and movements, particularly during the last decade, have strengthened their assertion of self-determination in innovative ways, moving beyond and expanding conventional politics (De la Cadena, 2009 p. 36). Among these new strategies is tourism, which, along with generating revenues and material improvements, has been identified as an opportunity to deepen autonomy, cultural perpetuation and relations with natural resources (Bunten, 2010; Spiller et al., 2010; Wright et al., 2009). However, despite its relevance, its consequences for broader issues of decolonisation, development and relations with more-than-human beings -that affect indigenous as well as non-indigenous peoples- have not yet been adequately explored.

This thesis explores the engagement of a group of Mapuche-Pewenche² communities with tourism in southern Chile. I argue that Trekaleyin, their tourism initiative, is part of a broader and long history of resistance and struggles for autonomy, territory and decolonisation, in which identity, development, agency and relations with other beings are negotiated, revitalised and re-produced. From my experience working with Trekaleyin in its beginning as manager of a state development and

¹ In this thesis words in Mapuche language (*Mapudungún*) are written in italics, and words in Spanish are between quotation marks.

² Mapuche and Pewenche are singular and plural words, therefore the words “Mapuches” and “Pewenches” are not used.

environmental programme, I became interested in the ways in which Trekaleyin, as a collective initiative, was dealing with issues of culture, development and “nature” in creative ways, involving the coordination of diverse (and close and distant) actors, and the activation of both dreams and past histories and learnings. Even though this experience was very exciting, I became increasingly frustrated as I felt I was lacking adequate analytical and practical tools to grasp the complexities that this initiative involved, which, while focusing on the communities, was also questioning the practices and ideas of all us who were involved in it in some way. Trekaleyin, not a political or indigenous movement but rather an everyday business initiative, was challenging us to create “spaces of pluralist co-existence” (Howitt et al., 2010 p. 11) in a country marked by contradictions regarding indigenous peoples. At least for me, doing so meant dealing with the yet “unthinkable”, or with that for which we lack sufficient tools to understand (Blaser and De la Cadena, 2009).

In this introductory chapter I will first give a brief description of the context of Chile, the Mapuche people and Alto Bío-Bío in which Trekaleyin is situated. I will then discuss some of the key issues and approaches that inform this thesis, such as indigeneity, coloniality and modernity, development, tourism and power. Finally, this chapter ends by providing an outline of the thesis.

Chile, the Mapuche people and Alto Bío-Bío

Chile is usually presented as one of the most successful countries in Latin America, combining high levels of economic growth with a peaceful return to “democracy” after the Pinochet dictatorship ended in 1990. The consolidation and expansion of neoliberalism in the last decades has however had complex consequences. Along with alarming levels of inequality, poverty increased in 2009 for the first time since 1990 (Ministerio de Planificación, 2010), and social and environmental conflict, partly as a result of the development model adopted, has been a constant.

One of the most critical and actively mobilised sectors in post-dictatorship Chile have been Mapuche people and organisations (Vergara and Foerster, 2002). Representing the largest indigenous people in Chile, the Mapuche are part of the over one million Chileans (7% of the country’s population) that self-identify as indigenous³, of which around 70% live in urban areas. As

³ In 2009, 1,188,340 people identified themselves as belonging to or descending from one of the nine indigenous peoples legally recognised in Chile that, together with the Mapuche, include the Aymara,

in most countries, indigenous peoples in Chile suffer different forms of discrimination, including political and socioeconomic exclusion, with 20% of them living below the poverty line in contrast with 14.8% of non-indigenous people in the same position (Ministerio de Planificación, 2010). To these inequalities must be added the limitations of human and indigenous rights in Chile, which together with the public policies for indigenous peoples, have been questioned for being well below international standards and recommendations (Marimán, 2011).

The Chilean state has dealt with the Mapuche through a dual and contradictory approach. On the one hand, it has implemented multicultural policies for poverty alleviation with a cultural component while disregarding the recognition of indigenous peoples' collective political, economic and territorial rights. In fact, indigenous peoples have not been recognised as such in the Chilean Political Constitution. And on the other hand, the state strategy has included the "criminalisation" and repression of Mapuche social protest, involving human rights violations, the use of antiterrorist legislation and even the death of three Mapuche activists at the hands of police officers between 2002 and 2010 (Marimán and Aylwin, 2008; Richards, 2010; Toledo Llancaqueo, 2007).

Wallmapu, or Mapuche ancestral territory, comprises a vast territory stretching from the Pacific to the Atlantic Oceans, in what is today part of southern Chile and Argentina (Hernández, 2003) (see Figure 1). The different sub-groups or territorial identities among the Mapuche, which literally means "the people of the land" (*mapu* is land, and *che* people), share common elements, such as *Mapudungún* "the language of the land". Among these groups are the Lafkenches or people of the sea, the Williches or people of the south, and the Pewenche, the people of the Pewén tree, with whom I conducted this research (see Figure 2).

Lickanantay, Quechua, Collas and Diaguitas in the north, The Rapa Nui people from Te Pito o Te Henua (Eastern Island), and the Kawashkar and Yamana in southern Patagonia.

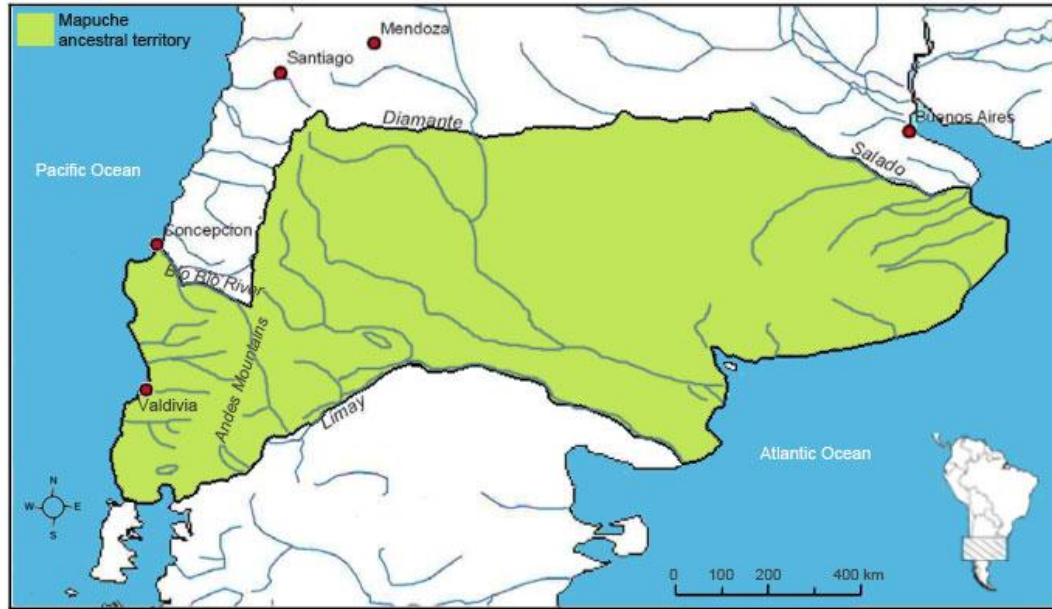


Figure 1. Mapuche territory in the eighteenth century
Source: Adapted from Hirt (2008)



Figure 2. Mapuche subgroups in Chile
Source: Adapted from Hirt (2008) and Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato (2003)

The Pewén tree, also known as araucaria or monkey puzzle tree (*Araucaria araucana*), grows in altitudes above 900 meters in the mountains, so in a way Pewenche also means the people that live in the mountains. Along with being important for their identity, the Pewén tree and its fruits (Pewén nuts) are a sacred element for the Pewenche, as well as an important source of food (Molina, 1998) (see Figures 3 and 4).



Figure 3 and 4. Pewén nuts and Pewén tree
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

Alto Bio-Bio is part of the Pewenche territory, located in the Bío Bío Region, in the central-south part of the Chilean Andes and bordering Argentina (see Figure 5). It is one of the few places in Chile with a very high proportion of indigenous people (80% of its 6,403 habitants) (Ilustre Municipalidad de Alto Bío Bío, 2006), and is the poorest “comuna”⁴ of Chile with 49.1% of its population under the poverty line (Ministerio de Planificación, 2010). Alto Bío-Bío comprises two

⁴ “Comuna” is the smallest administrative unit in Chile, administered by a Municipalidad and headed by an “alcalde” or mayor

main valleys, the Bío Bío and the Queuco. Of the 11 indigenous communities in this area, five are located in the Queuco valley where this research was conducted, with a total population of 2,655, and are from east to west (that is from the highest part in the border with Argentina to the lower areas) Butalebún, Trapa Trapa, Malla Malla, Cañicú and Pitril (see Figure 6). All of them were initially involved in Trekaleyin until 2007 when Malla Malla disengaged from it (Ilustre Municipalidad de Alto Bío Bío, 2006).



Figure 5. Bío Bío Region and Alto Bío-Bío
Source: Adapted from Región del Bío Bío (n. d.)

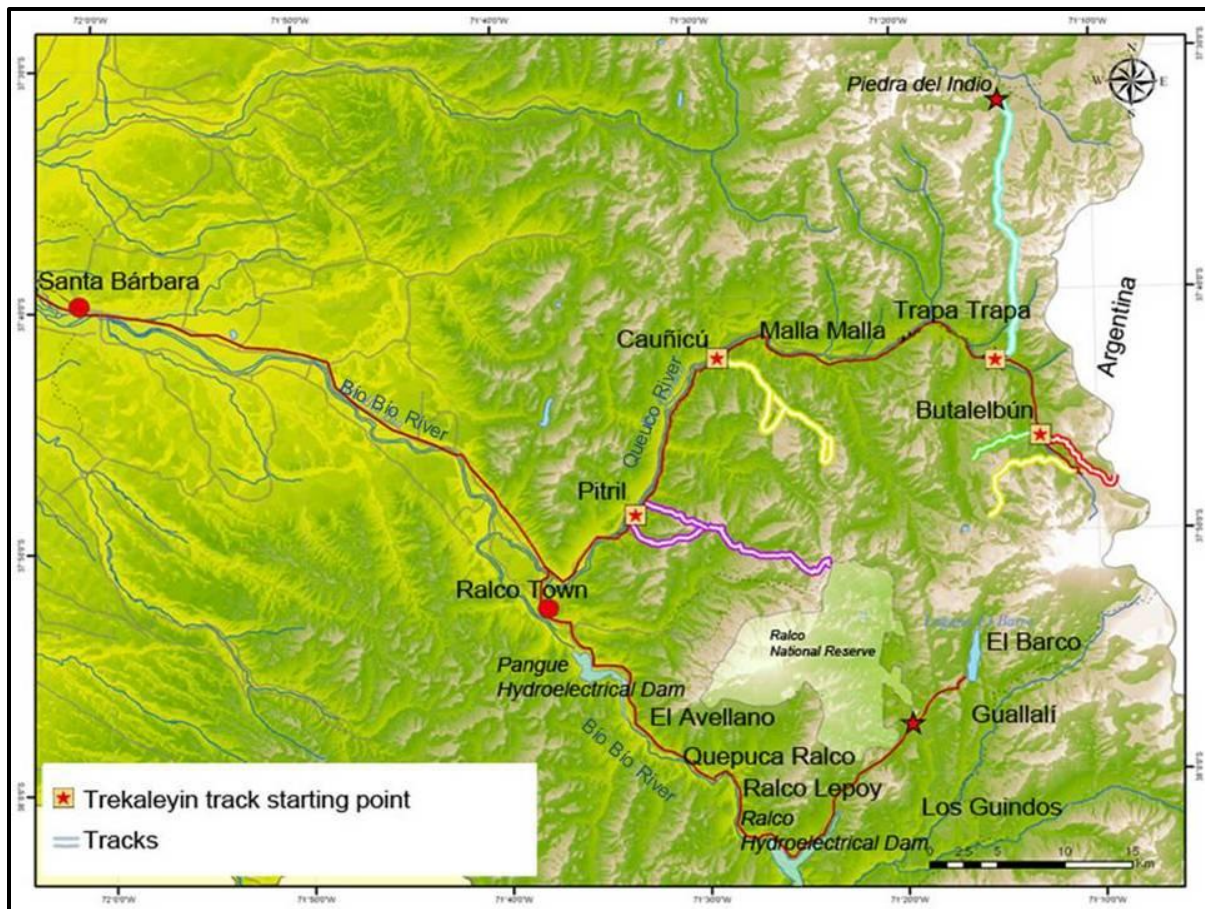


Figure 6. Alto Bío-Bío and Trekaleyin's tracks
Source: Adapted from Trekaleyin (n. d.)

Alto Bío-Bío is characterised by its attractive and diverse natural landscape including mountains, volcanoes, forests, rivers and lagoons. The only urban centre is Ralco, a small town where the main public services and small commerce are located. In the rest of the territory, houses are dispersed along the valleys, which at times are narrow with lush vegetation and at others wide and with less vegetation. Altitude is crucial not only to the landscape but also to the differentiation of the various ecological zones and the activities performed by community members. Seasonal transhumance is practised by most of them, who from May to November stay in the lowlands (*b'lom* in *Mapudungún* or “*invernadas*” in Spanish) where their permanent houses are. They then move to the highlands (*huechum* or “*veranadas*”) during summer to feed their cattle and gather forest products such as the Pewén nuts. Although this practice is undertaken to avoid spending the winter in areas

with heavy snowfall, a history of land usurpation has pushed the communities to higher and more marginal lands, with some families today inhabiting permanently areas previously considered as “veranadas”. Four of the five communities of the Queuco valley are among the few indigenous communities in Chile that still hold communal land titles (Molina and Correa, 1998).

In the last few decades, Alto Bío-Bío has become an icon of indigenous resistance in Chile, which came to be more visible after the end of Pinochet dictatorship. It acquired national and international relevance during the mid-1990s due to conflicts over the construction of the Ralco hydroelectric dam by ENDESA, a Spanish power company owned by the Italian state company Enel in the Bío Bío valley. This was the first indigenous resistance of this scale in Chile, and involved not only the affected communities but also national and international indigenous, environmental and human rights organisations (Anguita Mariqueo, 2004). Although the dam directly affected just the Bío Bío valley, it had important effects in the whole territory, reactivating identity discourses and demands over lands and self-determination in both valleys. Between the year 2000 and 2002, the communities in the Queuco valley reclaimed and occupied ancestral lands, increasing the tension in their relations with the State and leading to a very complex situation that included the death, imprisonment and exile of some community members. These events had deep consequences that continue to be felt in the present.

In this context, in Trekaleyin are involved Pewenche activists, traditional and spiritual leaders and community members from different communities and walks of life. Created as a network of Pewenche tourist tracks, Trekaleyin offers mainly horseback riding trips into their mountains, combining the scenic beauty of their territories with cultural elements (see Trekaleyin, n. d. and also Appendix 1: Trekaleyin website). Based on their particular relations with place, culture, economy and politics, Trekaleyin has created discourses and practices that challenge conventional “politics”, and has articulated tourism with development and self-determination in unique and innovative ways. For various reasons, including the desire of communities to maintain the ability to control and reflect on the development of tourism in their communities, Trekaleyin has remained small scale receiving approximately one hundred tourists per year. This number, although has steadily increased, is still below what members of Trekaleyin expect, and tourism continues to be seen as a complementary economic activity.

It is important to note that community members are far from being uniform or always thinking alike. The communities are diverse and heterogeneous, and tourism has encountered both support and criticisms from their members. Trekaleyin involves formally around 25 families plus a

network of more loosely associated people. Members of Trekaleyin also differ on issues that range from age and level of education, to political and religious choices.

Indigeneity, coloniality and development: Researching indigenous tourism and resistance

Indigeneity

Recognising these differences between the communities points to one of the key issues that emerges in this thesis, that is the diversity among indigenous peoples. This diversity is not only present in terms of culture and linguistics, but also in historical, political and economic aspects. Departing from common notions of indigeneity as a uniform category that define “mostly rural populations (‘hunter gatherers’ or ‘cultivators’) uniformly imagined as close to ‘nature’ (the beginning of the world) and far-off from ‘civilisation’ (the goal of history)” (De la Cadena and Starn, 2007b p. 6), in this thesis I adopt an approach in line with the calls made from geography and beyond to overcome fixing indigenous peoples spatially and temporally (Johnson and Murton, 2007; Howitt, 2001). Doing so implicates acknowledging the complex, historicised and relational nature of the concept of indigeneity to avoid falling into essentialised and binary analysis and judgements. Thus, this thesis engages with the suspicion of poststructural and postcolonial approaches towards claims of purity, fixed and clear borders and singular narratives (McEwan, 2009a), and understands indigeneity as comprising eclecticism, dynamism and hybridity (García Canclini, 1995). The very notion of indigeneity then, is seen in this thesis as an open-ended historical process that, although marked by past and present forms of colonialism, is necessarily relational and historical, and therefore provisional and context related (De la Cadena and Starn, 2007b).

In the last few decades, indigenous peoples and their competing agendas have increasingly gained visibility and influence at national and transnational levels, which has translated into the inclusion of their concerns, voices and rights in institutions that include, among others, national governments, the United Nations and the World Bank (Andolina et al., 2009). Consequently, indigenous movements have raised interest within geography as they are at the same time territorially rooted and globally articulated, aiming to re-appropriate place related elements such as lands, knowledges and culture by increasingly enrolling translocal and indigenous and non-indigenous peoples and institutions (Castree, 2004). Thus they have combined an extroverted

“global sense of the local” with an introverted defence of place (Massey, 2005), developing subjectivities, discourses and relationships that cross scales and at the same time reshape them, with powerful, uneven and unpredictable consequences (Andolina et al., 2009).

Indigenous peoples’ connectivity and cosmopolitanism, however, is not new and their encounters and relations with others have constantly influenced them. Indeed, Guillermo Bonfil Batalla (1972) has acknowledged that the term “indigenous” is in itself an invention of European colonisers to differentiate themselves and subordinate those they encountered, bringing together in one universal concept a great diversity of people, cultures and societies. Therefore, he suggests that the concept of Indian or indigenous, rather than possessing any specific content, refers to the colonised condition and the colonial relationship. In the face of the abuses of colonisation, indigenous leaders have been involved in the defence of their interests and perspectives in local and more-than-local ways since the sixteenth century. By conducting everyday forms of resistance, uprisings and massive rebellions, as well as by sending formal letters and delegates from north and South America and Aotearoa New Zealand to their respective colonial powers, indigenous peoples have been involved actively in translocal politics for centuries (De la Cadena and Starn, 2007b).

At the beginning of the twentieth century ideas of the inevitable assimilation of indigenous peoples to modern culture and society were prevalent around the world, but began to be questioned after the Second World War as a result of the international concern with colonialism and the emergence of decolonisation doctrines (Burguete, 2010). It has however, only been in the last few decades that a global indigenous movement has emerged (Niezen, 2004). It arose from the protests held by indigenous groups during the 1960s and 1970s, a time of generalised social turmoil, in the United States, Aotearoa New Zealand and Latin America. However, it was not until the late twentieth century that indigenous movements were able to extend their challenge to assimilation agendas internationally. In its last two decades indigenous organisations acquired unprecedented relevance in Latin America, the United States, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, as well as at global levels, a process that overlapped with the end of the Cold War, the so-called triumph of neoliberalism, and the emergence of different forms of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2001). In this context, indigenous peoples continue to assert their subjectivities among different agendas and interests, balancing expectations of what has been called the “hyperreal Indian” (Ramos, 1998) with efforts to decolonise hegemonic and evolutionary notions of the indigenous. So, as Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn (2007b p. 11) suggest, today, as always, indigeneity “is a process; a series of encounters; a structure of power; a set of relationships; a matter of becoming, in short, and not a fixed

state of being". Therefore, it constitutes a global arena of governance, subjectivities and knowledges that include indigenous and non-indigenous peoples at local, national and global levels.

Coloniality, modernity and the need for decolonisation

If we understand indigeneity as complex and in the making rather than fixed and self-evident, when doing research with indigenous peoples it is also crucial to ask oneself how or from which perspective one is approaching this research. Feminist scholars, such as Donna Haraway (1991), Kim England (1994), Linda McDowell (1992), Gillian Rose (1997) and Farhana Sultana (2007) have insisted on the need to question claims to objective research or point of view. As Haraway (1991) has suggested, they emphasise that to avoid this "god trick" it is important to recognise that knowledge is always situated, specific and partial, involving power relations that privilege certain knowledges and actors, while subjugating others. In a context of colonialism however, Western modern scientific paradigms behind their pretensions of neutrality and universalism have, (not innocently), constructed hierarchies of superior and inferior knowledges and peoples (Mignolo, 2009; Quijano, 2007). As Ramón Grosfoguel (2007 p. 214) states, this "epistemic strategy" has been key for the move "from the sixteenth century characterization of 'people without writing' to the eighteenth and nineteenth century characterization of 'people without history', to the twentieth century characterization of 'people without development' and more recently, to the early twenty-first century of 'people without democracy'". These hierarchies have influenced until today the distinction between valid and relevant knowledges from what is deemed as not or less important (Escobar, 2001).

Catherine Walsh (2005) proposes that it is therefore necessary not to rule out this Western rationality entirely, but to highlight its hegemonic and colonial character, as well as the ways in which it discards and subordinates a plurality of experiences, knowledges and actors, and the counter-hegemonic and decolonial alternatives they offer. It becomes crucial to address the intricate co-constitution of coloniality and modernity, where the former refers to the political, economic and racial power structures imposed for the benefit of the European colonisers, while modernity involves placing Europe at the centre with the subsequent racial, cultural and epistemic subalternisation of the rest of the world that accompanied and justified colonisation (Mignolo, 2007; Quijano, 2000; Walsh, 2005).

Decolonisation, then, entails reworking and de-linking from the colonial legacy, which according to Grosfoguel (2007 p. 219), involves a broad transformation of multiple dimensions of the “sexual, gender, spiritual, epistemic, economic, political, linguistic and racial hierarchies of the modern/colonial world-system”, as a result of the critical dialogue between diverse “epistemic/ethical/political projects towards a pluriversal as opposed to a universal world” (p. 212). In order to do that, one of the most interesting proposals has been posed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2006) through his “epistemology from the south”, in what he calls the “sociology of the absences” (“sociología de las ausencias”) and the “sociology of emergences” (“sociología de las emergencias”). The first “sociology” aims to demonstrate that what does not exist is actually being produced as non-existent or as a non-credible alternative to what exists, in order to transform what seems impossible (absence) into something possible (presence) that can be properly acknowledged and debated. The sociology of the emergences, on the other hand, consists of thinking of a future of plural and concrete possibilities that are at the same time utopian and realistic, based on what is currently being done. Together, both “sociologies” aim to acknowledge counter-hegemonic experiences and the possibilities to understand, act and imagine the world otherwise. They also involve identifying and expanding the knowledges, practices and actors involved in the creation of these possibilities, and the supportive actions that are needed.

Poststructural approaches to development

For the development of my thesis, the acknowledgement of these colonial/modern hierarchies, the need for decolonisation and Santos’ proposal have had at least two consequences. First, as Walsh (2005) advocates, it has been important to “listen” and take into consideration actors, perspectives and knowledges usually marginalised or not taken seriously. Doing so has meant, through a participatory and decolonising methodological approach, to privilege the voices and perspectives of community members over the concerns of tourists or institutions working with them, which have more often been addressed in the literature. Also, I have tried to include the work of Mapuche intellectuals who in recent decades have engaged in the decolonisation of knowledge, and who, according to Claudia Zapata (2006), occupy a marginal space within academic discussions in Chile and beyond. I have aimed to engage with their work not only in terms of the “factual” information they provide, but also with their theoretical contributions. Similarly, throughout this thesis I have aimed to bring the work of Latin American authors into conversation with Anglo scholarly literature.

And second, while examining Trekaleyin as a “tool for Pewenche development” as its members defined it at the forum they convened in December 2008⁵, I have used poststructural approaches to the study of development that, by focusing on the relation between knowledge and power, have influenced development studies since the 1990s. They have contributed to understanding development as a culturally and historically specific production, which is highly contested and political, and that both reflects and reinforces existing power relations (Lawson, 2007). Postdevelopment, similarly to Santos’ sociologies, seeks to enlarge the possibilities and create new vocabularies to think about the present and the future (Gibson-Graham, 2006). It criticises Western notions of superiority within development discourses, and questions the construction of hierarchies through which the Third World is presented as poor, uneducated and lacking assistance from the West, justifying its intervention (Escobar, 1995; Sidaway, 2007). Arturo Escobar (2001) argues that, unlike dominant homogenising views of development, it is necessary to look at the multiple local practices and knowledges that speak of a plurality of possibilities and the subversion of a universalistic Western development. On the other hand, postcolonialism questions the material and discursive legacies of colonialism that still influence the relationships between the West and the Third World (Radcliffe, 2005). Development, rooted in colonial discourses, is often considered to be an ethnocentric concept that rejects or even destroys non-Western knowledges and practices, making necessary the inclusion of alternative, subjugated voices for its decolonisation (McEwan, 2009a). Therefore, postdevelopment and postcolonial approaches push for new ways to think and act that do not reproduce the centrality of the West, but that are grounded in the everyday lives, cultures, places and struggles of people, allowing them to construct their own stories of development (Power, 2003; Sidaway, 2000). But postdevelopment and postcolonialism have been criticised because of their alleged excessive concern for theoretical issues at the expense of the material (McEwan, 2009b; Storey, 2000). Theorists from both approaches have responded by claiming that language and meaning are key in the ways in which interventions are understood and justified, and that they therefore contribute to a better understanding of development and its effects, and the reasons why it is so difficult to think beyond it (Escobar, 2000; McEwan, 2009a). It has also been suggested that critique alone is insufficient (Radcliffe, 2005; Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006; Simon, 2007; Sidaway, 2007), and that, as Gibson-Graham (2005 p. 6) advocate, the “challenge is to imagine and practice development differently”.

⁵ “Encuentro de Conversación: Turismo, un Instrumento para el Desarrollo Pewenche” (Conversation Meeting: Tourism, an Instrument for Pewenche Development), forum organised by Trekaleyin and the ONG SEPADE in Ralco town.

This thesis examines from an ethnographic site the practices and discourses by which members of Trekaleyin are re-working and expanding notions of development, politics, economy, relations to nature, and place and globalisation. Combining a “grounded, culturally specific analysis with an awareness of uneven (neoliberal and globalizing) political economies” (Radcliffe, 2005 p. 296), I aim to explore from a geographical perspective the ways in which development is worked out through “multiple scales, points of connection, constructed identities, and the contested- and often postcolonially violent-negotiations around its meanings and practices” (p. 394). Looking at the particular experiences of a group of Pewenche communities, this thesis attempts to counter criticisms of postdevelopment and postcolonialism for their alleged over-generalisation and lack of connections with specific, everyday realities (Nash, 2002; Storey, 2000). Examining what Thomas Perreault (2003b p. 586) calls “the cultural politics of development” through which development can be seen both as a space of contestation and of struggle for material and symbolic improvements by indigenous peoples, I want to move beyond the alleged romanticisation of non-Western communities that tend to be represented as always local and in opposition to Western values and institutions (Watts, 2003). Thus by engaging in the complexities of indigeneity and the often overlooked demands for development of indigenous peoples, I aim to highlight the ways in which indigenous peoples and organisations are, as suggested by Robert Andolina, Nina Laurie and Sarah Radcliffe (2009), contributing to the shaping of development paradigms in multilocal and multiscale ways.

(Indigenous) Tourism and development

Bringing together the perspectives reviewed so far in relation to indigeneity, colonialism and modernity, and poststructural approaches to development, provides a vantage point for the study of tourism and its links to development in particular among indigenous peoples. Tourism is considered to be the world’s largest industry and generated US\$852 billion in 2009 (World Tourism Organization, 2010). Its sustained growth has particularly impacted the Third World, where arrivals have increased 9.5% annually since 1990 (in contrast with 4.6% worldwide) (Scheyvens, 2007). Tourism has also been acknowledged as a particularly interesting activity to study broader social, economic, cultural, environmental and political issues (Mowforth and Munt, 1998), such as cross-scale processes (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001), the articulation of flows of people, ideas and capital (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011), the representation and transformation of places (Coleman and Crang, 2008; Massey, 1995; Sheller and Urry, 2004) and development discourses and practices (Palomino-Schalscha, in press; Scheyvens, 2002).

In general, studies of tourism in Third World and indigenous settings have tended to be either overly optimistic of its contribution to development from a markedly economic perspective (Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Scheyvens, 2002), or discredit it too rapidly by focusing on its negative consequences as the result of being another expression of colonialism and dispossession (Butcher, 2003; Butler and Hinch, 2007; Cater, 2007; Johnston, 2006; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Zeppel, 2006). However, by looking at indigenous tourism experiences more carefully, it is possible to recognise its multifaceted implications in more sophisticated ways. Poststructural approaches have highlighted issues that are relatively new to the study of tourism such as “questions about representation of peoples and places ..., the production of tourist landscapes ..., social relations between tourists and those living in destination areas ..., commodification of culture and authenticity ..., and cultural identity and cultural politics” (Scheyvens, 2002 p. 36). Urry’s (2001) influential “tourist gaze” was key in drawing attention to relations of power in tourism, going beyond the economic and including cultural and social issues, and highlighting how tourism is a powerful way of representing the world, peoples and places. Also, recent critical research has focused on indigenous tourism as a crucial arena for cross-cultural interaction, where issues of international policies, state, subjectivities and representations can be addressed by indigenous peoples (Bunten and Graburn, 2009).

Indigenous owned and operated tourism businesses timidly emerged during the 1970s and 80s in what Alexis Bunten (2010) calls the “first wave” of indigenous tourism. They adopted the “model culture” format, characterised by its portrayal of the more tangible aspects of indigenous culture in stereotypical and simplistic ways. But she mentions that since the 1990s, “second wave” indigenous tourism initiatives started to include indigenous value systems and ways of operating more explicitly. Indigenous peoples adopted tourism as a way not only to expand income and employment opportunities, but also to increase their cultural, social, political, spiritual and environmental wellbeing (Spiller et al., 2010). Despite the acknowledgement of its contribution to their resistance and enactment of particular ontologies, however, research of indigenous tourism that privileges indigenous perspectives and voices, and that deals more thoroughly with issues of decolonisation is still needed (Bunten and Graburn, 2009; Wright et al., 2009; Zeppel, 2006).

In general, indigenous tourism businesses are a relatively recent phenomena and most of them are less than a decade old. Their increase during the last ten years or so has been attributed to advancements in communication technologies, the overall expansion of the tourism industry, neoliberal policies of economic growth, and indigenous peoples’ recognition and compensation for colonial damages (Bunten and Graburn, 2009). In a neoliberal context, tourism has been seen as an

activity that can enhance economic activity and foreign revenue (Telfer, 2009), and has been supported as a strategy for poverty alleviation by national and global institutions. For instance, international agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have promoted tourism within Poverty Reduction Papers (Scheyvens, 2007), a trend that has been strengthened since the introduction of the Millennium Development Goals (Harrison, 2008).

In Chile, tourism has steadily increased since the 1990s, and since 2004 it has become the third most visited country in South America. These facts have been attributed to the country's economic openness and integration into international markets, which have resulted from the adoption of neoliberal policies. Tourism has recently gained greater prominence within the state's priorities, as evidenced by its recent explicit inclusion in the current Ministry of Economy, Development and Tourism (formerly only Ministry of Economy and Development), particularly favouring the development of tourism of special interests, including ecotourism and ethnotourism (Ministerio de Economía Fomento y Turismo, n. d.). Indigenous owned tourism initiatives have been promoted in Chile since 1995 by both the state and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) as part of multicultural policies, with the aim of improving the economic situation of indigenous communities, which has resulted in differing outcomes (Bushel and Salazar, 2009; Morales, 2006; Pilquimán and Skewes, 2009).

This thesis, by exploring the experience of Trekaleyn from a poststructural and decolonising perspective, is contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the workings of tourism. Recognising indigenous communities' agency while adopting a post-humanist stance that also acknowledges the agency of non-humans and the material and affective interlinkages between humans and more-than-humans (Lorimer, 2009), I have engaged with a wide diversity of literature not often applied to tourism, including (neoliberal) multiculturalism, diverse and solidarity economies, resistance, scale, neoliberal natures and relational ontologies. Therefore, this work is bringing new perspectives to the study of development and tourism among indigenous peoples. In this context autonomy, hybridity, diversity and relational ontologies are articulated.

Power, resistance and the paradox of autonomy

In the last few decades demands for autonomy, involving self-governance, have increased among indigenous peoples and movements around the world (González et al., 2010), and also in Chile by the Mapuche (Vergara and Foerster, 2002), including members of Trekaleyn. However,

autonomy has been considered to be problematic because, as Debra Castillo (2006 p. 43) has asked, “If autonomy fundamentally implies self-determination, how can autonomy be bestowed by others? Does it not then represent a reactive, secondary, conditional freedom and not properly belong to the category of autonomy at all?” Therefore, she proposes the notion of the “impossible Indian” (“indio imposible”) by suggesting that in dominant Western discourses, the indigenous subject can never be autonomous but is rather “a marker for a certain kind of distanced and exotic collective”. Castillo believes that Mapuche demands for autonomy, particularly in post-dictatorship Chile, have involved an effort to increase their differentiation from what Hale and Millamán (2006) have called the “indio permitido” (permitted, acceptable Indian), or the indigenous subjectivity recognised by the state on the state’s limited terms. Thus, by avoiding the “colonisation” and undermining of Mapuche autonomy by the “indio permitido”, they have encountered the paradox of the “impossible Indian”, as the very “indio permitido” has, to a large extent, opened the opportunities for resources, legitimacy and political influence that have made Mapuche autonomy possible. Thus, “neither autonomous nor permitted, but carrying features of both, the impossible Indian represents that desired and feared construct of dominant culture ideologies that steps back from engagement with the other while fetishizing him/her” (Castillo, 2006 p. 49).

The complexity of trying to build autonomous spaces and the tension between assimilation and self-determination faced by the members of Trekaleyn, as well as most indigenous peoples, emerges throughout this thesis with regards to issues of identity, territory, relations with the state and other institutions, the market, and engagement with tourism, in local and more-than-local ways. In order to deal with these constant and important negotiations I have chosen to use de Certeau’s (1984) ideas of everyday resistance as a way to overcome the restrictions of thinking of power relations in terms of the domination/resistance binary. De Certeau’s notion of “tactics” refers to the multiple and creative ways in which people re-work, transform and give new meanings to what is being imposed, thus enabling subversion not by direct rejection or confrontation, but by its transformation and manipulation. Together with highlighting the political dimension of everyday life, de Certeau’s ideas, as Julie Cupples (2009 p. 111) has identified in her study of Nicaraguan elections, help to understand “how ordinary people, in the interests of creating a better life for themselves, make do with the circumstances in which they live”. For her, the use of tactics allows people to destabilise and hybridise imposed identities by occupying “in between” positions rather than by the impossible differentiation between dominating and resisting power as opposing and discrete entities. Consequently, she suggests that “political identities are more hybrid than the discourse of political polarisation often suggests” (p. 121), involving resistance as well as compliance,

and interweaving complex social and political relationships. Thus, “autonomous geographies” can be better understood as processes that simultaneously involve resistance, creation and manipulation, which are relational, contextual, interstitial and permanently negotiated, and that constitute “in-between and overlapping spaces” (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006 p. 730).

Similarly to what Acilda Ramos, Rafael Guerreiro and José Pimenta (2009) have called the “indigenisation of development”, by which they mean not the rejection of development by indigenous peoples -who anyway have suffered many negative impacts and abuses in its name-, but its appropriation and “mastering” by indigenous peoples in order to share its benefits according to their own values and choices, in this thesis I suggest that strengthening autonomy for the members of Trekaleyin is about re-working power relations. The expansion of self-determination, then, has no easy or ready answers, but is a contested, hybrid, “tactical” and on-going process, which demands attention to issues of power with regards to development, indigeneity, the economy, place and nature, and which remain largely pending within tourism studies (Coles and Church, 2007).

Thesis scope and outline

This thesis deals with conceptual, methodological and political concerns regarding indigeneity, autonomy and decolonisation. In particular, looking at the experience of Trekaleyin, it explores how indigenous peoples are today engaging with, transforming and/or reworking geographical imaginaries, relations, subjectivities and development discourses and practices. From a poststructural and decolonising perspective, this thesis aims to:

- Examine the ways in which indigenous peoples engage with notions of development, politics, economy, relations to nature, and place
- Explore their connections across scales and their implications
- Provide more nuanced understandings of the workings of tourism among indigenous communities, and
- Develop embedded, committed and decolonising forms of research.

As the story at the beginning of this introductory chapter suggests, engaging in tourism has not been unproblematic for the members of Trekaleyin who have had to negotiate multiple and at times contradictory elements. It requires balancing disparate actors and dimensions, including the spiritual, political, economic and territorial, articulating local and more-than-local processes. In this

thesis I have not aimed to give definitive answers to these complex issues, and probably after reading it more questions than certainties will remain. I do not seek to dictate solutions of what the communities (or indigenous peoples) should or should not do. Rather, as non-indigenous, I am interested in acknowledging the fact that respectful cross-cultural co-existence is built by all of us, indigenous and non-indigenous. Therefore, and based on my desire to learn from and engage with more appropriated understandings and practices, I have aimed to deal with “my part” as non-indigenous in the construction of this co-existence, examining and trying to “decolonise” the ways in which I interact, understand and represent the experience of Trekaleyin and community members, in a shared reflection that is informed by and aims to contribute to current academic and political (and policy) debates.

While actively creating and participating in cross-cultural spaces, it has been important for me to cultivate an affective and supportive stance based on care and hope (Gibson-Graham and Cameron, 2007). This stance has been necessary to create space for transformations and to enlarge the possibilities to imagine better and more balanced relations, continually co-constructing myself and the relationships with the research participants, even after leaving the field. This process has involved, among many other possible versions, choosing to tell one particular story that highlights the ways in which alternatives for a better future are already being enacted and constructed. Also, it has meant recognising the contribution that indigenous peoples, far from being “objects” of development or intervention, are making to these expanded ways of imagining and acting. Finally, it has required questioning and destabilising ideas and practices that constrain these possibilities while searching to overcome different binaries (such as modern/traditional, global/local, powerful/powerless) and the hierarchies they (re)produce.

Having a geographical approach has been particularly useful to address these issues. Despite its colonial legacy and the fact that its engagement with indigenous peoples, knowledges and rights has been relatively recent, geography as a discipline has steadily increased its involvement in decolonising research with or by indigenous peoples, providing important insights (Castree, 2004; Frantz and Howitt, 2010; Johnson et al., 2007). Among them, three issues have been particularly important for this thesis. First, “rather than continuing to replicate modernist traditions and compartmentalized specialisms, indigenous geographies are especially valuable for pointing to the complex intersections between what might previously have been considered the separate environmental, social, economic, political, cultural and legal geographies of an issue or place” (Panelli, 2008 p. 807). Second, indigenous geographies have been pushed to recognise and value

indigenous presence, rights, knowledges and ontologies with important theoretical and practical implications for cross-cultural relations, thus destabilising Western universalism and calling for an “ontological pluralism” (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006; Howitt et al., 2009; Johnson and Murton, 2007). Finally, indigenous geographies have contributed to strengthening the search for appropriate, ethical and committed forms of research within the discipline and beyond (Johnson et al., 2007; Louis, 2007; Panelli, 2008). By including the work of Latin American and Mapuche authors, I believe I have highlighted the significant contribution this wealth of (ancestral and new) knowledges and discussions can make to the growing and crucial field of indigenous geographies.

These framework and approaches have allowed me to understand how, through their engagement in tourism, community members are disrupting, expanding and hybridising discourses and practices around development, the economy, the environment and cross-cultural relations, reworking them so as to craft a better position from where they can participate in them, but the consequences of which extend beyond the “local”, affecting us all, both indigenous and non-indigenous. Therefore, I have drawn on (indigenous) geographies’ possibilities and aimed to move beyond the “compartmentalised specialisms” Panelli (2008) mentions, embracing the complexity and multiple dimensions involved in the experience of Trekaleyin, development and decolonisation. Doing so led me to organise this thesis in a non-conventional structure because instead of following a single theoretical approach, I have engaged with a diverse range of scholarly literature and geographical tools relevant to the main issues or discussions that emerged while working with Trekaleyin. My intention has not been to prove or apply a certain theoretical framework on the ground, but to engage with these emerging threads of conversations and concerns and see how they relate to and can be addressed by diverse and intertwined bodies of literature. Thus, I have structured this thesis into different chapters that deal with these main issues. In each chapter I first provide a nuanced literature discussion of the issue I am focusing on, followed by empirical material and analysis. This non-conventional structure presented pros and cons. On the one hand, it allowed me to deal with important current concerns for the communities as well as in human geography in a transversal way. This facilitated the realisation of comprehensive and at least less “compartmentalised” research, bringing together many lines of research with diverse origins and trajectories, where the contributions of Latin American, indigenous, and in particular Mapuche scholars and activists were privileged. But on the other hand, this structure also required time and effort to cover a wide range of literature in enough depth, and the challenge to bring all these threads together in a coherent and encompassing argument. Despite its difficulties, looking at all these issues together turned out to be very beneficial, and this thesis has effectively addressed the importance of

non-conventional political spaces like tourism as sites for resistance, contestation and creativity. The organisation and scope of this thesis also allowed me to deal with the ways in which discourses around development, the environment and the economy are being transformed and re-worked in intertwined ways. And finally, it was crucial to be able to stress the urgent need to recognise the multi-scaled contribution of indigenous peoples on these issues.

Next chapter deals with the process and methods involved in conducting this research. It explores the intentions and principles that inspired how it was done, as well as the complexities and dilemmas encountered along the way. Therefore, it discusses methodological approaches and methods, as well as issues of participation, power and ethics. Chapter 3, in order to understand the context in which Trekaleyin is located, investigates the historical relations of the Mapuche and the Chilean society and state, and the conflicting development of (neoliberal) multiculturalism in Chile. It demonstrates how Trekaleyin is embedded in and articulated with political concerns and contestation that, together with transforming community members' livelihoods, is expanding their possibilities for the assertion of autonomy, decolonisation and political participation. Chapter 4 considers the ways in which a wide range of knowledges, ethics, values, humans and more-than-human beings influence the current diverse and solidarity economic arrangements of the communities involved in Trekaleyin. It explores the multiple elements that influence the ways in which tourism, as an economic activity, is being articulated among the communities, and its connection to understandings of wellbeing, balance and relations between humans and with more-than-human beings. Chapter 5 moves on to look at the ways in which the components of and links with the market and capitalist economy, while not free of controversies and potentially negative effects, can be seen as an opportunity for re-appropriation, resistance and increased autonomy, through which members of Trekaleyin are modifying their relationships with other actors and the ways in which they participate in society. Chapter 6, by engaging with discussions of place and scale, examines the ways in which Alto Bío-Bío as a place and its position within globalisation is being negotiated through Trekaleyin, and how their resubjection as tourism entrepreneurs is allowing community members to rework and transform them. Chapter 7 questions ideas of neoliberalism and nature, and investigates how Trekaleyin is articulating and defending Pewenche ontologies and their rights and relation to place and "nature" in a neoliberal context, enacting creative and unexpected counterhegemonic ways to relate neoliberalism and nature. Finally, in Chapter 8 I develop some concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2

EXPLORING THE DIFFICULTIES AND SATISFACTIONS OF (ATTEMPTING) PARTICIPATORY AND DECOLONISING RESEARCH: EPISTEMOLOGY, METHODOLOGY AND THE COMPLEXITIES OF CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH

Introduction

José, one of the leaders of Trekaleyin, was preparing a presentation he was going to give about their organisation and the work they do. Rather than starting from scratch, he decided to re-work one of the many presentations that others had made about Trekaleyin. Frustrated after reviewing a number of them, he commented that these presentations had been prepared by others and had nothing to do with *his* version of Trekaleyin. José then asked if, given that I was already there and had more experience with computers, I would mind helping him prepare *his* version of what Trekaleyin is and does. Together with insinuating how I was perceived and my potential role, this event highlighted that recognising the position from which a story is told, and in fact the meanings and version one chooses to tell, are of great importance and cannot be overlooked.

The approaches and methods taken to develop this thesis have been chosen according to the political, historical and cultural particularities of the Pewenche communities involved in this research. Today, like all the other indigenous communities and peoples in Chile, they are facing a contradictory reality. On the one hand, an increasing number of international treaties and declarations have been devoted to the recognition of their rights, to which Chile has subscribed and discursively adheres. But on the other hand they are also facing the rampant advancement of neoliberalism that has been adopted with particular intensity in Chile, and which is increasingly extending pressures and interventions over indigenous territories and natural resources, affecting their ways of living and ability to make decisions (Yáñez and Aylwin, 2007). Throughout a long history of marginalisation and dispossession, these communities have deployed various strategies of mobilisation and resistance at different times, searching for the strengthening of their autonomy, culture and territorial control. They have drawn on ancestral knowledges and traditions, as well as on creativity and innovation.

This thesis aims to engage with the current ways of doing and thinking about development, culture, identity, autonomy, political participation and the environment. It intends to make a contribution to the communities' struggle throughout the entire process of research, including fieldwork and after, by supporting spaces of discussion and shared learning. Also, it has the explicit aim of expanding who and what knowledges are taken into account in the production of valid, “workable” and at the same time “academic” knowledge. Thus, conducting this research also involved reflexivity and the examination of my own assumptions, motivations, and actions, and the not always easy development of skills and spaces for inclusive encounters and interactions. Exploring in a participatory way the experiences and discourses that are being developed in these particular communities, and linking them with other conversations that are being held in other places, inside and outside academia, this thesis contributes to academic knowledge by bringing new insights not only to analytical and theoretical approaches, but also to the messy and contingent ways in which scholarly knowledge is constructed and the challenges it poses.

Working in this context with these aims required a mindful, participatory, decolonising and culturally appropriate way of doing research, promoting reciprocity and respect, and encouraging mutual learning and further reflexivity. It also involved fostering relationships and focusing more on the process of doing research than on the expected outcomes, recognising that the “means” are equally or more important than the results in the efforts to decolonise our practices and the knowledges we build, and to construct plural and inclusive relationships. Therefore, this chapter deals with the process involved in conducting this research. It first explores the epistemologies, intentions and principles that inspired how it was done and its links with the broader theoretical approaches that inform this thesis mentioned in Chapter One. Then I explain the methodological approaches I chose and the research process I undertook. Finally, this chapter examines some of the complexities and dilemmas encountered along the way, and the advantages and limitations of the methods and approaches I used.

Epistemological and philosophical approach

This thesis, as qualitative research, recognises the existence of multiple viewpoints and the partiality of knowledge, and aims to engage with situated and “local” knowledges over grand theories, involving the subjectivities of different groups and individuals (Dywer and Limb, 2001). At least since the early 1990s, human geographers have engaged with qualitative methodologies that

have proved to be instrumental in the development of poststructural geographies (Crang and Cook, 2007). These methodologies have been used in this thesis as they allow me to try to explore the meanings and feelings of people involved in this research, and how they make sense of their own lives and experiences (Brockington and Sullivan, 2003; Crang and Cook, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Therefore, and recognising the difficulties of doing so because of not being always conscious, knowable or even stable (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005; Rose, 1997), I think it is also important to acknowledge my own understandings and approach to conducting research, what I see as constituting knowledge, and how these understandings influenced the decisions I made through the production of this work. These multiple and not always neatly defined understandings, and the ways of doing that emerged from them, changed and became more or less relevant at different times along the research process, but included poststructural, feminist and indigenous epistemologies, that have been increasingly used in development and indigenous geographies (Crang and Cook, 2007; Denzin et al., 2008; Frantz and Howitt, 2010; Louis, 2007), as well as in tourism studies (Ateljevic et al., 2007; Wright et al., 2007). These epistemologies recognise the existence of multiple knowledges and the political nature of knowledge-making, while questioning the idea that the world can be objectively and truthfully known and represented (Cameron and Gibson, 2005b; McDowell, 1992). Consequently, these epistemologies require reflexivity and self-awareness or, as Valerie Benz and Jeremy Shapiro (1998) call it, a “mindful” engagement with research as an embodied experience that is informed by the way in which we engage in the world more broadly, including emotions, personality, positionality and conflicts. Doing research under this light, together with my on-going practice of Buddhist meditation, has supported not only my research process but also my development as a more mindful person, which has been key within a framework of decolonisation.

Hence, I was not concerned to find the “real story” of the communities I worked with, but rather I assume that the knowledges built through this research are shaped by community members’ (contested) perspectives, as well as on my own values and inclinations. As a result, this thesis is motivated, on the one hand, by the intention to decolonise knowledge and knowledge production, and to expand the actors and perspectives included (Santos, 2006; Walsh, 2005), which prompted the use of decolonising and participatory approaches to research. On the other hand, this thesis is inspired by the acknowledgment that research can contribute to a “micropolitics of self-transformation ... [that] involves developing receptivity to a politics of becoming in which new forms of subjectivity might be cultivated” (Cameron and Gibson, 2005b p. 320). So rather than focusing on what the communities lack, or their limitations and difficulties (although taking them into account),

at all stages of the research (that is before and during fieldwork, as well as throughout the analysis and “writing in”), I tried to “tap” into a positive, supportive, affective stance that promotes creativity and expands the possibilities of different, more enabling, ways of being in the world and subjectivities (Cameron and Gibson, 2005b; Gibson-Graham and Cameron, 2007).

Decolonising and participatory methodologies

I chose the methodological approaches and theories that inform my research very carefully, because, as Smith (1999) observes, they are very significant for the questions one asks, the methods we choose to answer those questions, and the way they shape the analysis. Also, as Farhana Sultana (2007) has pointed, while conducting research it was extremely important to be alert to the histories and politics of colonialism, development and globalisation present in Alto Bío-Bío that informed the research. Therefore, the methodological and larger theoretical approaches of this research depended on the context I was working in, my values, and the importance given to different kinds of information and people (Stavenhagen, 1971). Although not free from difficulties and challenges, I aimed to work from a decolonising, participatory and empowering methodological approach, which according to Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), involves privileging community members’ concerns, perspectives and practices, and centring research topics and methods on the needs, views and traditions of the indigenous communities I am working with. These approaches both criticise the way most traditional Western research has been done and propose a more respectful alternative. They question academy’s (and geography’s) complicity and support of the perpetuation of colonial logics, where somebody from the outside comes, extracts, interprets, appropriates, and reconstructs from his or her own logic, ideology and interests, what they see when they enter in contact with “others”, in a research process in which those “others” have no influence, interests or benefit. These positivist and post-positivist methodologies of Western science, then, validate colonising knowledge about indigenous peoples (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008) and have promoted colonising agendas and dispossession by misrepresenting, objectifying and essentialising indigenous and subaltern “others”, violating their privacy and rights (Howitt and Stevens, 2005).

But just as it is necessary to denounce the close links that geography and other academic disciplines have had with colonialism and imperialism, it is also important to acknowledge that from these same disciplines very important critiques of colonialism and totalitarian political structures have emerged (Stavenhagen, 1971). Therefore I agree with those who, like Orlando Fals Borda (2006b

p. 28), rather than rejecting academic knowledge, suggest that it is more urgent is to “obtain knowledge useful for worthy causes” through appropriate means. As Richie Howitt and Stan Stevens (2005) have suggested, however, a clear dichotomy between colonial and postcolonial or decolonising research cannot be assumed, as until the present much work -even from allegedly postcolonial frameworks- can be colonial to some degree. In fact, some have even argued that despite all our efforts, colonisation has been so influential in our own lives and minds, that we can only aspire to do research “from an anti-oppressive and decolonising stance while realising the (im)possibilities and complexities of a truly decolonising endeavour” (Swadener and Mutua, 2008 p. 32). Furthermore, saying I aim to do decolonising and relevant research is also complicated because, who can “certify” that it is really decolonising? Or at what stage of the research can I know it? Can I really predict its current and future consequences? Thus, aiming to do decolonising work has turned out to be rather complex. As Smith (1999) has suggested, I realised that adopting decolonising, participatory approaches did not free me from arrogance, ethnocentric or paternalistic attitudes and practices. It did not “fix me” or solve these deeply rooted issues (Smith, 1999; Manzo and Brightbill, 2007; Swadener and Mutua, 2008). I had to face the many subtle and even unconscious ways in which I continue to reproduce colonialism and my own privileges, ranging from the kinds of relationships I have developed, to the use of language, the decisions of how to represent community members, and what to include or not from my writing. These required attentive, on-going and critical self-reflectivity, in particular to my attitudes, intentions and relationships throughout this research (Howitt and Stevens, 2005). Although these questions are difficult to address, require constant attention and have made me go through many ups and downs, I think it is important not to be discouraged from at least attempting to conduct better research. It is a responsibility we all share in order to build a more plural and enabling present. Besides, I found in the literature, as well as in open conversations with my supervisors, friends and colleagues ideas and understandings that did guide me and that made this experience very valuable.

I believe that decolonising research attempts to use its findings to “break down the cross-cultural discourses, asymmetrical power relationships, representations and political, economic and social structures through which colonialism and neocolonialism are constructed and maintained” (Howitt and Stevens, 2005 p. 32). I also assume that doing decolonising and respectful research, in particular in indigenous settings, is not just about personal preference. It is aligned with international legal declarations that state that indigenous demands and opinions must be taken into account when doing research that affects them, as for example the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples or the Convention number 169 of the International Labour

Organisation. But although it should include cultural protocols and values, and the search for local approval (Smith, 1999), decolonising, participatory research actually becomes so by also respecting the legitimacy of others' knowledges and ways of being (Howitt and Stevens, 2005). As Beth Swadener and Kagendo Mutua (2008 p. 31) assert, it should involve "valuing, reclaiming and foregrounding indigenous voices and epistemologies", as well as unmasking the ways in which colonising tendencies create and support exclusionary discourses. But dealing with marginalised and silenced perspectives is to recover more than stories. It also involves the diverse experiences and knowledges that, as Santos (2003) has noted, have been "wasted" by the "indolent reason" of Western modernity. His "critique of the indolent reason" is a complaint against the "waste of experience", but also a way to build other epistemologies, methodologies and theories to think beyond the imperial categories of modernity and coloniality. However, he has also highlighted the need to use carefully terms such as "other" or "alternative" knowledges, as they can imply and reinforce the West/Modern as the norm, and therefore the subalternity of "the rest" (Santos, 2005). Nevertheless, and in part due to a lack of appropriate words, I at times use these terms. As Xochitl Leyva and Shannon Speed (2008) have observed, despite their flaws these words make political claims to knowledge that is different from the hegemonic, Western and modern, and are widely used by indigenous movements and "altermundista" networks.

Decolonising methodologies stress the fact that research is always a moral and political act, that cannot be understood as a distant, innocent, academic exercise (Smith, 1999). In these methodologies, the groundedness of research is emphasised in the politics, circumstances, and economies of a particular moment and place, a particular set of problems, struggles and desires to which it is inevitably linked (Denzin et al., 2008). Therefore, neglecting this fact is not a question of "science versus politics, but of one kind of science-in-politics versus another" (Stavenhagen, 1971 p. 343). When working with indigenous peoples research is inevitably situated in a broader indigenous agenda, in which the survival of peoples, cultures and languages, as well as self-determination, social justice and reclaiming and reconstituting indigenous cultures and societies are crucial (Smith, 1999). This was particularly important for this research, as it involves Mapuche – Pewenche people, a people who have been and still are living in situations of injustice, marginalisation and dispossession and are currently leading important and diverse struggles. Also, as it deals with issues around development, autonomy and culture, this research became (and could hardly claim not be) explicitly political. Thus, not wanting at any point to "speak for them" or to dictate what they "should" be doing, but rather working in solidarity with community members, in this research I have assumed

social justice, self-determination and plural and nurturing relationships as basic principles that framed my work and methodological approach, and towards which I aim to contribute.

Although research can seem to be a small and technical aspect of the wider politics of indigenous peoples, it can help to generate or make more “credible” and visible knowledges and perspectives to support the questions, priorities and rights of indigenous peoples (Smith, 1999). In order to extend the reach and implications of this work, it has been particularly interesting and productive to draw connections between local experiences and their broader geopolitical contexts, and to realise how they are intertwined (Cahill et al., 2007). In this way community members, their supporting organisations and I have been more able to understand the scaling of processes, and to “re-engage with wider structures and processes of inequality to effect changes ... [and] involve and alter spaces of empowerment and action” (Kindon et al., 2007a p. 3). To do so was not difficult because community members and leaders are usually aware of and often reflect on these connections. This is due in part to their political awareness, but also to the importance given to stories, memories and struggles of the past to understand the present, in which ancestors, oral history and dreams have a crucial role. Therefore, this research involved a process of unveiling geographical and temporal scales, moving between past, present and future, as well as the local and more-than-local.

Positioning myself in the research

Consistent with the epistemological approach of this thesis, it is necessary to locate myself explicitly within this research in order to acknowledge the ways in which my positionality influences my work (Maxey, 1999). Together with gender, class and nationality, positionality also involves how informed and politically aware the researcher is (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003). Our own identities and subjectivities, however, are unstable and dynamic, and change according to relationships in different places and at different times, so our positionality is never fixed or static (Sultana, 2007).

When thinking about my own positionality, I believe I have to start by looking at the reasons and motivations that led me to do this particular research in the first place. There is no one straightforward answer in my case, but I should begin by considering the fact that I grew up under Pinochet’s dictatorship and, as many others, I was very hopeful and excited when his regime finally ended. By the time I was in my late teens, democratic governments had been in power for approximately five years, and disenchantment was emerging amongst many of us because of their

unsatisfactory achievements. That motivated me to take part in some of the many student and social movements that emerged in the years I entered university, which then led me to be in contact with Mapuche movements. So by the time I had to choose a topic for my undergraduate thesis, I chose to work with two Mapuche communities on issues of land claims, environmental protection and state intervention (Palomino-Schalscha, 2001). This was an uncommon and particularly political topic for my rather conservative university in Chile, but regardless, I got the support and supervision to do it.

After graduating from geography I worked for Servicio País, a national NGO, in development and environment in Antuco, a small town in the Andes in the Bío Bío Region, Chile, where I lived for three years and met Marcelo Jair Parra Monsalve, who created the picture on the cover of this thesis. Later I worked as Regional Manager for Sendero de Chile in the Bio Bio Region. This national programme, that was then managed by the state environmental institution (CONAMA), aimed to support (eco)tourism in the Andes Mountains throughout Chile as a way to encourage environmental protection while also involving and benefiting local communities⁶. It was then that I started working with the communities involved in this thesis, as friends and colleagues invited me to contribute to the incipient work they were doing in tourism in Alto Bío-Bío in the beginnings of Trekaleyin. After several meetings that included a visit from the National Director of Sendero de Chile to Alto Bío-Bío, as a request of the communities to determine the terms on which cooperation from my institution was going to take place, they agreed to form a partnership with Sendero that remains until today. Over time and through several visits, stays and horseback riding trips I developed new and strengthened old friendships in the communities, my passion for horses grew further, and I became increasingly committed to supporting what many in the communities were struggling for, that is, the search of autonomy, cultural survival and the improvement of their living conditions. Tourism was one of the ways they were doing it, and from my position at that time, we developed alliances and supported the first steps towards what Trekaleyin is today.

I then moved to Aotearoa New Zealand with a working holiday visa, and while there became interested in doing a PhD. When I started this PhD, I knew it was going to be about Alto Bío-Bío. My motivation to do so was (and still is) informed by friendships and my commitment to support these communities' struggles, as well as by the need and interest to reflect and explore this experience and its implications as I mentioned in Chapter One. When I returned to Alto Bío-Bío in 2008 to conduct

⁶ Sendero de Chile was transformed into a private foundation in 2008, (see SENDERO DE CHILE (n. d.) Retrieved March 15th, 2010, from www.senderodechile.cl.)

my fieldwork, I acknowledged that my position had changed. Despite the fact that I am Chilean, I was (and still am) considered an “outsider” and a *winka* (non-indigenous) in the communities. Furthermore, I am from Santiago, the capital city, and there are class differences that the mere fact of doing a PhD overseas highlighted. So, in general terms, in the communities I am considered an urban, educated, middle/upper class *winka* woman. I have a life experience very different to most of them and can only relate in part to their struggles. I am ignorant and clumsy in many respects, which although at times can generate good laughs, at others times it put me in uncomfortable situations where I felt or made others feel awkward, maybe even without knowing.

I am aware that it is impossible to know how others viewed me (Vanderbeck, 2005), but besides the issues I have already mentioned, the fact that I was a married but childless woman, who spent most of the six months without my partner was somehow strange. Despite the fact that many people already knew Cristian (my husband), being alone reinforced the idea that *winka* women are “different” and more independent. This raised issues around my sexuality and, like Cupples (2002b), I became aware that the ways in which I performed my femininity, and my potential perception as an “object of desire” or as somehow “available” due to my husband’s absence, were important in the relationships I developed. Therefore I had constantly to juggle drawing some boundaries and avoiding misinterpretations, with developing trust and closeness. Having lived most of my life in Chile I am relatively used to these subtle tensions, but it took different (and at times unexpected) forms in Alto Bío-Bío. Being a woman also influenced the conversations and situations I had access to, and I also had to constantly move between respecting the expectations and limitations for women in the communities and challenging their subordination.

Throughout the six months I stayed in Alto Bío-Bío, the boundaries between who was an outsider and who was an insider started to blur, allowing for a “betweenness” where “no one is an ‘outsider’ or ‘insider’ in any absolute sense” (Twyman et al., 1999 p. 319). This in-between position has been identified as a space that can be useful to resist dominant ways of acquiring information and knowledge production (Chacko, 2004; Katz, 1994; Nast, 1994), and contributed to the participatory nature of this research. However, it also resulted in some new dilemmas. I became closely linked to the work of Trekaleyin, due to my previous involvement and friendships, as well as the fact that I was both sharing a home with a member of Trekaleyin and being hosted by SEPADE and Servicio País. These two NGOs (together with Sendero de Chile) are the closest supporting institutions of Trekaleyin, and although not free of tensions and on-going negotiations, they have maintained a longstanding and stable partnerships. So becoming to some degree “part” of the work of Trekaleyin

proved very beneficial as I could support them more directly while in the field, as well as obtain access to many of the issues the organisation was facing. However, being closely associated with Trekaleyin, also influenced the ways in which I could relate to other members of the communities, in particular those more critical of tourism or Trekaleyin. It also limited my possibilities to develop closer relations with the local government (Municipalidad) and others in conflictive relationships with Trekaleyin. My role as researcher also became blurred in my relation with SEPADE, Servicio País and Sendero de Chile, institutions whose staff were interested in this work and part of the research itself. My previous professional and personal relationships with some of them, as well as their generosity and enthusiasm, made coordinating with them easy. But I also had to be careful not to become “part” of them and be involved more as a partner, a difference that, although important for my independence and at times led to a conflicting position as I will exemplify later, remained fuzzy .

In general terms, I was not a stranger when I did my fieldwork, which helped me to develop and increase trust and the possibility to work collaboratively with research participants. But people evidently “othered” (Sultana, 2007) and labelled me. I cannot say that I became an insider, or that differences did not matter after a while. That would be too naive. But commonalities and time allowed me to become more accepted and to develop an important degree of trust, openness, honesty, and emotionality, which allowed spaces of encounter, sharing, mutual support and learning during the process of knowledge production, however partial it might be. Nevertheless, I am also aware that despite my aims to be self-reflexive, who I am and how I am perceived were constantly being shaped by the relationships with others, always evolving and never being able to be fully grasped (Rose, 1997). Also, despite my intention to contribute to community members while doing my fieldwork, reciprocity remained a constant worry. Beyond my support to Trekaleyin as an organisation, some people shared with me their personal difficulties and hardships, such as a violent husband or a sick son. In most of those cases I could only offer being there, listening attentively and empathetically, which although I consider important, usually frustrated me. I also faced personal difficulties while in the field, and the support and generosity I received increased my feelings of being unable to reciprocate, but also put me in a more humble and, paradoxically, maybe more “equal” position. This gratitude and feelings of being “in debt” have moved me, in the stages that followed fieldwork, to try to be faithful to these relationships and the knowledge that was generated there, and to aim to be aware of the ways in which I represent people when writing this thesis. After having examined the epistemological approaches that inform this thesis, as well as my motivation and position within it, I will now explain the methods I used and the decisions I made.

Methodology and research process

Ethnography and Participatory Action Research

In order to carry out this research I chose Participatory Action Research (PAR) and ethnographic approaches as they enable participatory and relevant fieldwork, and acknowledge the research participants as collaborators who have their own questions and priorities and are capable of representing themselves rather than simply being given a voice (Kindon et al., 2007b). These methodologies also have some characteristics that seemed crucial in the development of this research. Among others, they promote flexibility (Storey and Scheyvens, 2003), the exercise of humility and respect (Tyler, 2006; Leslie and Storey, 2003), a degree of uncertainty and openness (Brockington and Sullivan, 2003) patience, planning and spontaneity (Greenwood and Levin, 2007). Ethnography and PAR share similar methods when used for participatory knowledge production (Greenwood and Levin, 2007), and as I found in my own research, they complement each other allowing for very interesting and creative insights.

Ethnography seeks to understand parts of the world as experienced and understood by those who “live them out” (Crang and Cook, 2007 p. 1). It is rooted in the concept of culture and the ways people think, believe and behave situated in, but not limited to, a specific time and space, and influenced by its political, economic and social context (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999). However, and in line with poststructuralist perspectives, I assume that there are not “true essences” or identities. Rather, I understand both research participants and myself as “always in the process of becoming, of being shaped in a multitude of ways by various discourses and practices” (Cameron and Gibson, 2005b p. 317). Thus, rather than reproducing “timeless” and “homogenised” images of cultures and societies, and aware of the dangers of exoticising and romanticising the “other” -as they lead to further misunderstandings and marginalisation (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 2008; Cupples and Kindon, 2003)- I tried to see the field as a site of interpenetrations of the local and the global, where identities are continuously re-worked (Brockington and Sullivan, 2003), and where a wide range of subject positions and perspectives are worked out and co-exist, that include but go beyond “indigeneity”.

Ethnography is research about social relations, and is at the same time made out of social relations, entailing an intimate and hopefully reciprocal involvement between the researcher and the researched communities (Crang and Cook, 2007). It can imply negotiating and working with

research participants in mutually useful relationships, bringing together theoretical and practical concerns (Fife, 2005). That is why geographers have used ethnographic analytical and methodological tools in a wide range of issues in development and cultural studies, with growing attention to the inclusion of the interests of the researched communities (Limb and Dwyer, 2001; Crang and Cook, 2007) and the search for methodologies that work towards the “decolonisation” of knowledge production (Nakamura, 2010).

PAR, on the other hand, is not a unified or standardised research methodology, but rather includes a wide variety of approaches and methods. What they all have in common is that they involve researchers and participants working together to understand a situation and to change it for the better, emphasising shared learning and knowledge, and a flexible collaborative analysis (Kindon et al., 2007a). It has represented an epistemological change in the academy because it acknowledges a diversity of knowledges, as well as the fact that “those who have been *most* systematically excluded, oppressed, or denied carry specifically revealing wisdom about the history, structure, consequences, and the fracture points in unjust social arrangements” (Fine, 2008 p. 215, emphasis in original). PAR understands research as a process to create new forms of understanding and knowledges, linking theory with practice, and action with reflection (Reason and Bradbury, 2001). It is based on the cogenerative construction of knowledge (Greenwood and Levin, 2007), bridging academic, professional knowledge with local, popular, indigenous knowledge, thus expanding who participates in the process of knowledge production (Gaventa and Cornwall, 2001).

PAR originated at the margins of the academy as a way to critique the power imbalance of traditional research, between the researcher and the participants (Ivanitz, 1999). But during the last decades the academy has become more receptive to a “participatory turn”, and PAR has rapidly become a leading paradigm within the social and environmental sciences (Kindon et al., 2007a). Its origins are debated, but it is generally agreed that it emerged in the 1970s and that during the 1980s was influenced by feminist critiques of traditional research (Kindon et al., 2007c; Pain, 2004). Although there are different accounts of the genealogy and geographical origins of PAR, and the fact that among the English literature its Latin American influences are often overlooked (Fals Borda, 2006a; 2008), PAR is influenced by Paulo Freire’s (1970) “pedagogy of the oppressed”, in which participation is seen as a process of consciousness raising, mainly through processes of reflection, learning together (Gaventa and Cornwall, 2001) and the ability to exercise choices (Gonsalves and Mendoza, 2006), which were also desirable outcomes of this research. That is why for PAR the process of doing research is as important as the outcome (Ivanitz, 1999). From a poststructuralist

stance, PAR's reliance on the local and indigenous knowledges of marginalised sectors is seen as problematic, as they also should be approached with caution and not assumed to be inherently transformative. Attention to power relations, language and representation also needs to be taken into account when engaging with PAR, in order to expand the possibilities and allow new subjectivities to emerge (Cameron and Gibson, 2005b).

I chose these two approaches because I aspired from the beginning of this research to contribute to the communities through my work. Although not exempt of difficulties, PAR and ethnography allowed me and gave me the tools to make a (small and limited) contribution by promoting spaces of reflexivity and the generation of knowledge relevant to Trekaleyin's needs and struggles. I also aimed to deconstruct colonial research practices and do research in a more inclusive way, sharing control and enacting pluricultural relationships where differences were acknowledged and valued. In fact, these methodologies were also culturally appropriate. As has been suggested, "[some] groups use participatory research without naming it, and without asking for outside validation of the knowledge which is produced" (Hall, 2001 p. 177). Trekaleyin, and the communities more in general, have a strong tradition of conducting long meetings, conversations and reflections, where with varying degrees of formality, matters are discussed, information is shared and collective reflection is developed, involving the re-articulation and agency of memories, stories, dreams, and more-than-human beings and forms of communication. Therefore, the methodology of this research, through negotiation and according to the decision of the leaders of Trekaleyin and the communities to include it in their usual meetings and conversations, was shaped by the interests, activities and ways of the members of Trekaleyin (and its supporting institutions). The concrete ways in which this was done will be explained in detail below, but first I will explore participatory methodologies in the part of the world where this research was conducted.

Participatory and decolonising methodologies in Latin America and Chile

This research did not take place in a "methodological" vacuum but is rather embedded in the long story of participatory methodologies in Latin America. They have had limited acceptance in geography in Chile, however, and as a discipline it has only recently started to engage with decolonising approaches towards indigenous issues and concerns. This thesis aims to bring these methodological approaches and traditions together in an effort to engage in pertinent, committed and creative research, and to contribute to the strengthening of a fruitful line of research.

The beginnings of participatory research in Latin America are quite diffuse, and different authors propose diverse interpretations. Carlos Rodrigues Brandão (2005) suggests that its first proposals and experiences appeared between the 1960s and 1980s in different parts of the continent, closely linked to existing social and historical contexts. They originated from different movements and approaches that were working with popular groups, like liberation theology, popular education, social and ethnic movements, and movements of resistance to colonisation. In general they started as attempts to transform research into a pedagogical and overtly political activity, more sensitive to popular sectors and aiming to serve their emancipatory projects. 1970 is usually seen as a crucial year in the history of Latin American participatory research. On one hand, this was the year of the Barbados' Declaration, a declaration in which the indigenous peoples of the continent became more visible and vocal. In it, they criticised, among other things, the colonial character of academic knowledge and the exploitative nature of research, asking for stronger academic commitment to their liberation struggles (Leyva and Speed, 2008). The same year other important publications and initiatives were developed by people like Paulo Freire and his "Pedagogy of the oppressed" in Brazil, Orlando Fals Borda and the Rosca Foundation in Colombia, and Rodolfo Stavenhagen and Guillermo Bonfil in Mexico, among many others (Fals Borda, 2006a; 2008).

In Latin America participatory methodologies also developed mainly outside universities, although some of its main theorists had academic backgrounds (Sanchez, 2008). Fals Borda (in Cendales et al., 2005) explains that this was due to their insistence on the fact that theory and practice should go together and not be two separate stages of research, which presented a fundamental difference with mainstream academia. They questioned the motivations and audiences for the knowledges that were produced, and at the same time sought to support and enact radical changes in society, issues that were not welcomed in the universities at that time (Cendales et al., 2005). Years later participatory methodologies entered into Latin American universities, but in general remained more related to the work of students and a few lecturers who were also often activists (Rodrigues Brandão, 2005). In Chile, a country with a long tradition of participatory methodologies, they are hardly taught at universities today beyond some pedagogic strands, and I became familiar with them through my personal involvement in social movements.

Although in Latin America there has been no single definition of participatory research but rather a wide diversity of approaches and practices, it has often been stressed that there is a need to combine "heart" and "head" while doing research, in order to deploy techniques and procedures that acknowledge and "satisfy" researchers and participants intellectually and personally at the same time

(Fals Borda, 2007). This acknowledgement also has moral consequences, as “head and heart have to work together ... with a personal ethical stand, with a balanced handling of the ideal and the possible, and with an holistic epistemology” (Fals Borda, 2006b p. 29). From this conception emerged the notion that those involved in research, be it as practitioners or as participants, should be recognised as “thinking-feeling” beings (“seres sentir-pensantes” in Spanish), and that participatory experiences should be formative and transformative experiences, at the personal, institutional and wider social levels (Fals Borda, 2006b).

Today, there is a call among people involved in participatory, decolonising research in Latin America to move from Eurocentric paradigms towards more flexible, holistic and decolonised ones, embedded in our own contexts (Leyva and Speed, 2008). It is argued that this can support new and better ways to engage with postmodernity and postdevelopment (Fals Borda, 2007), improving our understandings, and changing and re-enchanting our plural world, while working towards what has been called a “good life” or “Buen Vivir”⁷ (Fals Borda, 2006b).

In Chile, academic work about Mapuche people is embedded in the context of the relationships between the Chilean and Mapuche society, marked by inequalities and subordination. “Valid knowledge” about Mapuche peoples is produced in institutions seldom controlled by indigenous peoples, where research ethics procedures are not in place, and a strong tendency exists to appropriate Mapuche knowledges by outsiders, excluding the Mapuche from the process, benefits and responsibilities of constructing such knowledge (Marimán, 2003). Therefore, questioning this way of doing research challenges the validity of these knowledges and has led to efforts to transform the subordinated condition of Mapuche peoples and to support their struggles for autonomy (Morales Urrea, 2002a). But as has been expressed by the Mapuche activist and academic Pablo Marimán (2005b), Mapuche people and organisations distrust the academy and the *winkas* (non-indigenous) that control it, as they have been linked to research that has been mostly about the extraction of information and that almost never has been used by academics committed to support them. This situation has prompted Mapuche intellectuals in the last decades to engage in a still marginal but prolific line of research committed to the active decolonisation of their history and knowledges. Overall, today the challenge remains in Chilean academy to revise and transform

⁷ Buen Vivir, or *Sumak Kawsay* in Quechua, is a concept developed and increasingly being used in Latin America referred to a more respectful, inclusive, balanced and sustainable way to construct a “good life”. I write Buen Vivir in capital letters following the use in the literature (see Acosta, 2009; Benalcázar, 2009; Gudynas, 2010; León, 2009)

institutions and research procedures, and to engage more directly with ethical and political considerations.

This account of the history of participatory and decolonising research in Latin America and Chile, although brief, is an attempt to show that the critiques of the colonial ways of doing research are not new in the continent. It is an effort to acknowledge its main predecessors and to situate my work in this context, as an attempt to make a contribution to a well-travelled “path” that has led me to encounter new and old problems. Chilean geography is currently facing important challenges in relation to its connection and possibilities within political and social contexts (Hirt and Palomino-Schalscha, 2011). Only a few Chilean geographers have worked on indigenous issues from indigenous perspectives (Raúl Molina being one of the more influential), and decolonising, participatory methodologies have not been widely used in the discipline. This thesis tries to bring together the Latin American tradition of participatory, emancipatory research, with broader international PAR and ethnographic streams and decolonising perspectives. Despite the multiple and important difficulties I encountered along the way, I aimed to support the advancement of indigenous and development geographies in Chile in their theoretical, methodological and practical aspects. This is an area where I firmly believe geography can make important contributions, especially considering the present situation and challenges.

Research process

Fieldwork

The present thesis, although informed by my previous involvement with Trekaleyn in 2005 and 2006, draws on six months fieldwork in the Queuco valley, Alto Bío-Bío, between November 2008 and May 2009. It also includes a short visit where I shared and received feedback of my progress in October 2009. I intended to conduct this research in a way that could modify the power relations and inequalities of traditional research, but this was complicated since its beginnings. It would have been ideal to decide the research topic together and how it was going to be conducted from the beginning. However, academic procedures and obtaining funding and ethics approval, particularly from Aotearoa New Zealand, meant that I had to write a research proposal without much input from the participants. However, my prior knowledge helped me to have a rough idea of the topics that could concern members of Trekaleyn, and I kept contact with them and their support institutions via email to discuss general issues. But as access to the internet is quite limited and

unstable in Alto Bío-Bío, this communication was not very fluid and did not allow for the best of coordination. Therefore, I had to decide many matters myself while attempting to keep them quite open and flexible, so they could be re-worked and negotiated once in the field.

When I arrived in Alto Bío-Bío I decided to base myself in Ralco, a town where most of the institutions and services of Alto Bío-Bío are located. I shared a home with a member of Trekaleyin and was hosted by SEPADE and Servicio País, which allowed me to have a space in their office and access to their facilities, as well as to be involved in their day-to-day activities. As previously arranged, one of the first things we did after my arrival was to have a meeting with the leaders of Trekaleyin and the supporting institutions, including Sendero de Chile. In this meeting, and following the Pewenche protocol, I was asked to present my intentions to conduct this research in their communities and to explain its proposed scope and methodology. I asked for permission and, although they do not have specific formalities to grant it, I was invited to go ahead with the research and Trekaleyin and the institutions expressed their willingness to take part in it. Then a conversation followed about how to shape the research according to their own interests and needs, in a process that of course did not end there but created the foundations for collaborative work. The appropriate protocols and respectful ways of approaching members of the communities were discussed, as well as who was going to be considered. It was agreed that informed consent was to be given orally, both by Trekaleyin as an association and by each person to be interviewed. In addition, we decided that each person individually could choose if they wanted their names to remain confidential or not, but that Trekaleyin as an institution could be named and identified in this research. Each person would also have the possibility to choose if the interviews could be recorded or not, a fact that would also be decided before each collective meeting. An agreement was made about not including Malla Malla in the research, which is the fifth community of the Queuco valley. Although it was originally part of Trekaleyin, because of various reasons the *lonko* or traditional leader of Malla Malla had ratified that the community was not going to be involved in tourism at that time, a decision we chose to honour.

However, soon after I arrived in Alto Bío-Bío, and although I thought my ideas were more or less realistic as I had worked with these communities before, I realised that my plans and expectations about how to conduct my “participatory research project” were quite naive. Despite the real and sincere interest and enthusiasm among the communities and their supporting NGO’s for the research, there were many constraints for their active and continued participation. First, and to put it simply, people did not have much time to devote exclusively to the research. Leaders already had far

too many responsibilities, there were various other projects and initiatives happening simultaneously, and people had to work hard to earn their living. So, it became clear quite rapidly that it was very unlikely that they would be able to engage in activities arranged solely for the purpose of this research. Second, people wanted to be involved in different degrees, or to participate at some stages more than others and in particular types of activities and discussions, due to the diversity of interests, roles and abilities among community members. And finally, there were also very limited resources to organise meetings and activities involving people from different communities, a fact particularly important due to communication networks of the area. The Queuco valley is a very extensive area where houses are usually far apart, and travelling by car can take more than two hours from the first to the last community. There is just one bus per day each way and the fares are relatively expensive. There is no land-line or mobile phone coverage in the communities, and recently through tourism projects a few two-way radios have arrived in each community, but they do not communicate across the entire valley and the two more distant communities (Butalelbún and Trapa Trapa) are not connected to the other two (Cauñicú and Pitril), or Ralco. Internet is not available in any community, and even in Ralco, where the NGOs are based, internet was very slow and entire days could pass without connectivity. Among the NGOs I was working with, only SEPADE had a jeep to travel around the area, but -as it was shared with another project- it was available only every two weeks, and during the time I was there it was broken for more than a month. So, it was not easy to move between the communities, and when events were organised with people from all the communities, they had a high cost in time and money, often involving sleepovers. However, some meetings and activities could be funded and the bus was used as “mail carrier” to send notes and letters.

Facing this situation, my “idealistic” ideas about the communities’ active participation and collaboration needed to be reassessed according to the communities’ resources, capabilities and interests, and to avoid putting extra burdens on them (Smith, 1999). These concerns emerged at the first meeting, where it was decided that it would make more sense to coordinate the research with the other issues they were working on rather than considering research as a separate activity. This proved to be a wise and very productive choice, as I could take part in and directly support their work, as well as include special discussions and activities linked to the research. It allowed the research to be closely linked to the concerns and everyday activities of the communities, and promoted discussions and reflections about “real” issues in relatively “normal” conditions, strengthening their own tradition of collective learning and dialogue. It also meant that when I was

invited to stay in the communities, the length of stay tended to be for a reasonably long period of time, which was also beneficial.

The main activities I did while in the field included participating in internal meetings of Trekaleyin, as well as in meetings with other institutions at different levels. I also took part in and helped to organise the “First conversational encounter: Ecotourism, an instrument for Pewenche Development” in Ralco (17th of December, 2008). I joined several horseback riding trips, some with and others without tourists, a couple of them with the presence of the press, and one including European tourists where I acted as translator. I also participated in three training courses for members of Trekaleyin, and was asked to prepare an English course for the guides, as well as to support the preparation of audio-visual material for some families. I was invited to stay for different lengths of time in each of the four communities in family houses and “veranadas”, and also to join *Nguillatunes* in the two different communities, the most important religious ceremony that lasts for three days.

After a while, and given the fact that I was already recording, taking notes and roughly analysing the meetings, I was asked to formally summarise and present these discussions in order to support further debates. This turned out to be a very interesting methodological exercise, as it helped to deepen the participation of community members in the analysis, and promoted interesting dialogues and insights. I was also asked to systematise the opinions of some tourists that visited the communities.

Although in general I chose to carry out mainly informal conversations, I also conducted interviews for specific purposes. I did so because the nature of my interactions facilitated it, and I, the community members, and staff from their supporting institutions felt more comfortable in informal settings. This did however led to some complications and dilemmas that will be discussed later in this chapter. The 21 interviews I conducted were all semi-structured interviews, and lasted between one to three hours, depending on the availability and interest of the interviewees, and the development of the interview. Formal interviews with community members included leaders and non-leaders, people involved in and opposed to tourism, women, men and young and mature persons. I also interviewed a community member and friend, who was at that time in prison because of his involvement in land claims. In addition, I interviewed people working in local institutions (like the *Municipalidad*, state agencies and other NGOs), as well as officials working at national or regional levels. I also interviewed four academics working in the area on related topics. Finally, I also conducted a focus group with the members of one community who expressed their interest in having

a collective discussion around the issues covered in my interviews. While conducting research I kept diaries with my observations, thoughts and the results of the collective learning processes. I also kept other means of records, like digital recordings of the interviews and meetings I was allowed to record as well as pictures. I gathered information from written sources, like government and non-government reports, different studies and publications and the media.

The processes of fieldwork and analysis for me were not two separate instances. Of course, after fieldwork there was a formal, more systematic analysis of the information, but I agree with Mike Crang and Ian Cook (2007) that while in the field one is inevitably making sense of what one is learning, which in turns affects the way fieldwork is being done and the directions the research takes. In PAR, the iterative and on-going analysis process during fieldwork is crucial in its cycle of action and reflection (Cahill, 2007). That is why, while in the field and through the discussions and reflections about what was being done, there was a continuous process of analysis and learning and an important part of theory was developed there, although it was later transformed. This, in turn, affected the ways in which Trekaleyin works and some of everyday activities and plans for the future were modified. Therefore, although maybe small and only a part of a much wider and complex set of interactions and processes, I think this research made a contribution to the communities by joining theory and practice, research and action.

At the end of my fieldwork a formal meeting was conducted with members of Trekaleyin and other local institutions. I presented the main ideas and debates that have been discussed during the research process, which was followed by an open conversation. This allowed the validation of these conclusions, the incorporation of final feedback, and generated very interesting discussions among community members, the institutions that support them and myself. It was far more than a moment of “giving back” what I have learned. It felt more like a “closure”, a moment where all these ideas were finally put together to be reworked again, after a long and sometimes chaotic process of fieldwork. It was certainly a very productive instance for me, but it also created among all of us a sense of accomplishment and satisfaction where emotions were shared.

From the results of this meeting, I gave a presentation a couple of weeks later at the Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano in Santiago, which was arranged through their geography department. Initially I was going to present with a member of Trekaleyin, but because of last minute problems she could not make it to Santiago. This presentation was attended by students, academics and institutions working in indigenous rights and issues, and linked our discussions to broader academic debates in geography and beyond. It was a way to share with a wider Chilean

public the work we had done, which was later continued when I presented at a geography conference in Chile in 2009.

I then returned to Aotearoa New Zealand, but I was able to return to the communities later in 2009, and sent via email some reports of the issues I was working on, as well as some of the presentations I did at different conferences and seminars. I also continued supporting Trekaleyn by translating material for their new website into English, and sharing with them information that seemed to be interesting, like journal articles, funding opportunities and others.

Analysis, representation and “writing in”

I transcribed in Spanish all the interviews and part of the almost 60 hours of recording, and once back in Aotearoa New Zealand, embarked on a more systematic analysis of the information gathered during fieldwork, including my four research diaries. Although fieldwork was informed by participatory methodologies, I am critical of the final level of participation that this thesis maintained in the later stages. Due to physical distance, difficulties in communications, and the fact that I was mainly working in English, analysis and writing was done with minimal involvement of research participants. I tried to remain close to the knowledges generated in collaboration during fieldwork, maintaining a supportive stance to privilege the communities' perspectives, but distance and time, the (increasingly theoretical) literature I engaged with, and the very learning process I went through after fieldwork meant that the way I looked at these knowledges and processes changed. Consequently, many ideas were transformed, others did not make it to the thesis at all, and some issues that did not seem so relevant at some point became central, all decided by myself. Further complicated by university regulations which stipulate that thesis are singly authored pieces of work, I developed an increasingly ambivalent and conflicting opinion about the degree of participation of the “end result” of this work. However, I am also aware that this thesis, although a major step, is not necessarily the “end result” for many of those involved in this research, and that reflective and collaborative processes are not limited to the completion of this thesis.

In PAR there are many ways to approach the process of analysis, which range from those involving all the participants and researchers, to the cases when it is done by one researcher (Cahill, 2007). In my case, I did this process by myself. Therefore, I agree with Pain (2004) who notes that, although one of the pillars of PAR is the idea that participants self-represent themselves rather than being represented by others with more authority, these kinds of representation tend to happen anyway in the “transfer” of knowledge from the context of the field to the academic context. I mainly

did an inductive analysis, following the modified version of grounded theory presented by Crang and Cook (2007). It involved carefully reading the gathered material and then coding it through a process where “similar events or themes or actions or parts of events or sentiments are given similar labels” (Crang and Cook, 2007 p. 137). At first I used the qualitative coding software Nvivo, but due to its licensing restrictions I later changed to Weft QDA, a free software that shared its basic functions. Coding was an iterative process of many comings and goings between the information and the categories or codes (Cope, 2005), and at times felt like what Crang and Cook (2007) have described as a messy, time consuming but creative process. It helped me to deepen my analysis, identify key aspects and contradictions, as well as to see how ideas related to each other (Glesne, 2006), but it was actually while writing that I really made sense of most ideas.

As Lawrence Berg and Juliana Mansvelt (2000 p. 162) have suggested, for me the process of “writing-in” (as distinct from “writing-up”), more than the unproblematic reproduction of the “simple truth” of my research, “constituted how and what we know about our research”. In other words, “writing-in” became in itself a form of analysis and way of knowing. It involved the “invention and re-invention” of my field site and the participants, choosing some of the many possible “stories” I could have told (Cupples and Kindon, 2003 p. 223). Therefore, writing also faced me with decisions around how I was representing Alto Bío-Bío and the people involved in this research. What, from all I have seen, heard and experienced in the field, would be included in this thesis? And in which ways? Living in a foreign country, and therefore constantly facing my own “otherness” and being subjected to stereotypes and contradictions, has helped me to become more aware of the importance and frustrations of representations. I am aware that in this thesis I am presenting only a thin “slice” of people’s lives, running the risk of over-emphasising some aspects while downplaying others. In particular, the use I make of terms like “community” and “community members” remain problematic, because although they encapsulate and overlook the diversity among heterogeneous groups of people, they are also useful categories that I have tried to use with care. However, and not pretending to be able to grasp and offer a complete account of their complexities and heterogeneity, I have made the effort to include anecdotal information in the chapters, and privileged the use of long quotes to avoid dissecting too much what was said, as well as to allow the readers to be able to interpret it. Acknowledging that translation involves interpretation and inevitable distortions (Larkin et al., 2007), when directly quoting participants I included both the original version in Spanish and an English translation to respect “the original words of the participants and ... not to further distance and decontextualise the words that they chose” (Cupples, 2002a p. 56). Also, I considered that those who can read Spanish would benefit from having access to the original words. Something I did,

though, that from positivist stances could be seen as a “betrayal” or the distortion of “data”, was to edit and standardise the Spanish of the quotes from community members. I did so not in an attempt to disembodify their words, but rather to keep the clarity of this work and respect the privacy of community members. Respecting the decision of all the community members, their names have remained confidential, and only in few occasions and in cases in which people have explicitly asked for it, real names have been provided.

Therefore, I had “considerable license in choosing the manner of representation of subject’s thoughts and words” (Chacko, 2004 p. 58) and, despite my efforts, the amount of direct words from participants that ended up being included in this thesis represent a small portion of all I heard, let alone the limitations of transcriptions as a medium to communicate the emotions and context that surrounded these words. Nevertheless, as Mullins (1999) has pointed out, participants also exerted control over what they decided to share with me, what they said and how they did it, and often even formal interviews ended up being a clear two-way process, where after turning off the recorder I was asked for my own opinion, feelings or experiences.

Writing and finishing this thesis has made evident the impossibility of a definitive closure of fieldwork, understanding it “not as a bounded geographical location but as a space, which is actively constituted through the social and spatial practices of the researcher and his/her relations with participants” (Cupples and Kindon, 2003 p. 217). This is particularly the case for me as I maintain relations of friendships with research participants, as well as a long term commitment to these communities. Finishing this thesis represents a big step, but plans remain for the production of a shorter and probably re-worked version in Spanish for the communities and supporting institutions, as well as on-going and new ways of engagement. In the next section, I explore in more depth some of the ethical challenges I encountered while trying to conduct participatory research.

Ethical concerns and de-idealising participation

Participation has been questioned because, following its increased popularity and recognition as an effective, valid and useful way to do research, its name and language has been co-opted and used by institutions that maintain top-down, exploitative approaches (Fine et al., 2008). Despite these criticisms, participatory approaches have gained a growing enthusiasm that has been even described as sometimes close to moralism or religious fervour (Pain, 2004). However, as I have suggested before, despite my good intentions and the benefits of decolonising, participatory

methodologies, I found that conducting participatory and ethical research is actually complicated and generates multiple dilemmas, a fact that is much less mentioned in the literature (Tomaselli et al., 2008). This forced me to become more realistic, demystify and understand participation in more complex ways and to carefully consider ethical issues. Acknowledging and reflecting upon these challenges became an important part of my learning process, as well as for the search of better ways to do things and recognise my limitations (Leyva and Speed, 2008).

This research had to go through the processes of approval by the Human Ethics Committee of my university (see Appendix 2: Human Ethics Committee Application and Approval), which although important, was not enough to ensure ethical research as ethics go well beyond these formalities. It starts from the selection of the theories and methodologies that inform our work, and is developed and negotiated constantly. Ethical conducts are always “contextual, relational, embodied and politicised” (Sultana, 2007 p. 383), cannot be settled in a priori procedures (Berg et al., 2007), and in most cases the distinction between what is ethical and what is not is not clear-cut (Ivanitz, 1999).

Choosing participatory approaches for ethical reasons did not get around ethical dilemmas, and in fact raised new ones that often clashed with institutional ethics procedures (Cahill et al., 2007). Blake (2007) has observed that when conducting participatory research, Ethics Committees can actually limit the possibilities of developing deeper ethical processes, as the researcher is asked to plan everything beforehand, limiting the opportunities of on-going negotiation with participants according to their own concerns, procedures and cultural norms, imposing a top-down and one-size-fits-all model (Cahill et al., 2007). Consequently, formal ethics procedures are somehow contradictory. Although mainly concerned with the protection of research institutions from complaints or legal actions, they declare to aim to protect research participants from assumedly inherently harming researchers, and this way construct participants as non-reflexive persons, unable to negotiate or be included as partners in the ethics review process (Blake, 2007). Ethics procedures aim to ensure that researchers do not have an impact in the field, but participatory, decolonising approaches aspire to exactly the opposite (Scheyvens et al., 2003), considering that what is not ethical is precisely doing nothing when facing unfair circumstances, and in fact “closing the gap [and] remedying the power inequalities through processes of knowledge production” (Gaventa and Cornwall, 2001 p. 70). For Ethics Committees morality is more about adequately searching for individual pursuits rather than engagement and commitment to others, as proposed in feminist ethics of care (Manzo and Brightbill, 2007). Working with indigenous groups, institutional ethics

procedures based on Western ideas of individual rights and property become particularly problematic. They stress the right of each individual to give informed consent and knowledge, overlooking collective rights and concerns (Smith, 1999).

Even if they can be improved and far from solving all the ethical issues, Ethics Committees' reviews are, however, a good starting point. Coming from a country where they are not required or compulsory, I can see how they at least acknowledge the importance of taking into account ethics when doing research. During my own process of ethics review I was fortunate to be able to incorporate an important degree of flexibility, uncertainty and participation. Thanks to previous efforts made by other researchers in my university, including my supervisors, my university's Human Ethics Committee was aware of many of the issues involved when working in different cultural and social settings. For example, I was allowed to obtain oral -instead of signed- informed consent, as in Alto Bío-Bío many people cannot read and write, and in general the act of "signing" something raises more suspicions than assurances. I was also authorised to leave many issues open for later negotiations with the participants, such as confidentiality, specific research methods and the topics to be researched. Regarding Pewenche understandings of ethical procedures, the Ethics Committee allowed the incorporation of their organisations and leaders in the process of obtaining collective consent, reviewing cultural protocols, managing the access and use of information, and having a say in further ethical issues (see Appendix 2: Human Ethics Committee Application and Approval). Overall, obtaining the ethics approval was a smooth process, although it required accommodating some details to get the final clearance.

However, and as expected, many issues emerged that were not even thought of during this institutional process, in part due to the collaborative nature of this research. Therefore, I had to make decisions and face situations where it was really hard to know which was the right option, and I found myself in the "grey area" that Ivanitz (1999) mentions. For instance, after interviewing people with influential positions or who have conflictive relations with Trekaleyn, often I was asked to comment on what they had said. Although this demand can be easily answered arguing that confidentiality applies to everybody involved in the research, when those asking are part of the research process, and more importantly, when the information they were asking for is very relevant in the politics of their work -a work I was indeed supporting- it was hard or even meaningless not to attempt to provide an answer. Next, I will examine some of the more relevant issues about ethics and participation I faced while conducting my fieldwork.

Doing cross-cultural research

The complexities of cross-cultural research were an important ethical issue that emerged in the development of my work. This is a particularly sensitive topic when working with indigenous communities, and some authors have even pointed out that research about indigenous peoples should be conducted exclusively by indigenous peoples (Smith, 1999). While acknowledging the importance and urgency of research done by indigenous peoples, I think that cross-cultural research, however complex (in particular in relation to issues of representation and legitimacy), should not be discarded. Even acknowledging the harmful effects that much research has had on indigenous peoples, it cannot be assumed that it will always be damaging or exploitative, or that it will always reinforce patterns of domination (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003). Indeed, cross-cultural research can help to overcome essentialism, as well as to challenge marginalisation (Sultana, 2007), and universalistic and ethnocentric views, providing a variety of perspectives for intricate issues (Scheyvens and Storey, 2003). But cross-cultural research is also crucial for decolonisation as it is a process that should involve the whole society (Swadener and Mutua, 2008). Non-indigenous, and in particular geographers, have also the responsibility to decolonise ourselves and expand the possibilities for plural, inclusive and nurturing ways of co-existence (Frantz and Howitt, 2010; Howitt et al., 2010). Furthermore, cross-cultural research tends to highlight that actually non-indigenous people are the ones most in need of such “shared conversation”, as indigenous peoples are usually much more familiar with the “others” perspective as they had to interact with them daily (Jones and Jenkins, 2008). In particular, it has been stressed the importance to examine the ways in which through indigenous tourism intercultural zones are created, which can become spaces of reproduction and change with potential political and moral implications (Wright et al., 2009).

I tried to conduct this research in culturally sensitive ways, promoting respect and including local concerns, protocols and a high degree of negotiation with the participants (Howitt and Stevens, 2005). But, as Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins (2008) have suggested, I was also aware of the need to be careful not to over-emphasise “mutuality”, as in the search for common ground differences can be downplayed and immersed in broader ideas about humanity and diversity, thus failing to be properly acknowledged and overlooking precisely one of the central demands of most indigenous struggles. I also took Jones and Jenkins approach to cross-cultural research as a process of mutual learning “from” the other, rather than “about” the other, where the emphasis is not so much on the impossible task of fully understanding the other, but rather in the complexity of the indigenous-dominant group relations. Learning “from” the other, thus, means to experience difference and “allows the indigene-coloniser relationship to be interrogated in uneasy ways that insists on examining power and

common sense, as well as the place of histories in the present. In its tensions is the fecundity of collaboration” (Jones and Jenkins, 2008 p. 483). Thus, cross-cultural research is crucial to undo pre-existing hierarchies between indigenous and non-indigenous knowledges, but together with the desire for more equal relations, it requires awareness of the hegemony of Western epistemologies and the need to question them, entailing the acceptance and negotiation of the complex relations of power that, although ever-changing, will always shape relationships (De la Cadena and Starn, 2007b).

But when talking about cross-cultural work, and acknowledging the need to consider difference, it seems to me that there is sometimes a tendency to reduce interactions to binary categories and the construction of two opposed and homogenous groups. This is problematic, and at least in my experience, could lead to overlooking the important role of commonalities and relations of friendships that deeply shaped this research.

Research, personal relationships and friendship

During this cross-cultural and participatory research, the relationships and friendships I developed became some of its most important fruits, but also one of the main sources of the tensions I had to negotiate. Working and living with others, connectedness and personal accountability grew (Cahill et al., 2007) as the result of encounters between “thinking-feeling” persons (Fals Borda, 2006b). While in the field I soon found out that sharing my own emotions, stories and points of view played a central part in developing trust, reciprocity and responsibility. This helped me to develop what Denzin and Lincoln (2008) call an “ethics of care and hope”, that values individual uniqueness and emotionality, but which also required attention to the subtle forms of domination and inducement, as well as the potential outcomes of my actions and perceptions (Kindon et al., 2007b).

As I have said before, I had old friends and I made new friends while in the field. Although this was highly enjoyable and gratifying, it presented ethical dilemmas that, as Hall (2009) has mentioned, questioned the idyllic notion that research and personal life can or should be separate. I never struggled to keep both separate, and rather than keeping a distance or stopping deeper personal engagement, I decided to let these friendships grow and pay careful attention to them, although this led me to face many challenges. One challenge was trying to distinguish the portions and kinds of information I could use in this research. Spending time with my friends and their families meant that I learnt many things about them, their communities and local institutions, but

most of it as a friend and not as part of the research necessarily. Therefore, at times it felt complicated to discern the difference. In some cases I just asked directly, but in many others asking would have offended as it would have meant that I was never a true friend but rather a kind of “spy” that never stops working. In those cases, I chose the safer side of not including this information as part of the research unless it emerged later in more “formal” stages of the research. Another challenge was that sometimes I was not sure if it was appropriate to ask questions or “work” while being with my friends. That created anxieties and in several occasions I found myself worrying and questioning myself and my intentions while spending time with my friends, trying to decide whether I should say something or not. At times I decided to forget my “research” interests to honour affection and intimacy, and at others I chose to ask.

Finally, there was the issue of how much to share about myself. Acknowledging that in our daily lives we are constantly negotiating our identities according to different situations, during fieldwork, I deliberately wanted to be as honest and open as I would be in my “normal” life. That is because, on the one hand, as people knew me from before many things about me were already known or evident. On the other hand, because I was invited into people’s houses, lives and families, what they showed about themselves could be managed more limitedly, so I thought it would be unfair to choose not to share much about myself. However, there were issues or opinions I chose not to comment on, but as I said before, I see it as something closer to the process of negotiation we do in our normal lives rather than a deliberate desire to hide things from research participants.

In general, I believe that although not easy, the best way to deal with these ethical dilemmas was to keep participants informed, and allow spaces to hear their opinions and concerns and express mine. At the end of the day, the friendships I forged during this research have been one of the most enriching and worthwhile parts of this research, but they have just required attention and reflection. But friendships and more general ethical concerns were also important in the type of participation that was developed in this research, leading to both contradictions and achievements as will be explored next.

Questioning participation in the field

Participation does not erase uneven power relations. Doing participatory research does not mean it does not involve power relations. Actually, “the who and the how of participation is never innocent ..., but rather always already power-full” (Berg et al., 2007 p. 396). Therefore PAR and other

participatory methodologies, cannot be understood as being inherently “good” or free from power issues, but rather must be seen as a “situated mode of knowledge-power with its own limits and power effects” (Pain et al., 2007 p. 227). That is why it was so important to avoid idealising participation or to essentialise power in terms of “haves” and “have-nots” (Pain, 2004), and remain aware and critical towards who was being included and who excluded, and how decisions were made (Maxey, 1999; Ivanitz, 1999).

While in the field, I found myself in some complicated situations where different interests or points of view were in conflict, among which the most difficult to deal with were the ones involving supporting institutions and members of Trekaleyin, between which I sometimes had to take sides. Deciding what to do was not easy and forced me to think carefully about the reasons and consequences of my decisions, as well as on my independence as researcher. For instance, there was a time when I empathised with the concerns and demands of some community members who had a dispute with a supporting institution that was also part of the research. At one point, I was asked by these community members to write a letter to back them, and address it to the boss of some of the people who were directly supporting me in the field. I knew this would put the staff of that institution in a difficult situation, and that they could feel as though I had betrayed them. I wrote the letter anyway as I thought it was important to do so, and fortunately it did not generate any major resentment or problems, but it created some distance, and lots of internal questionings about my role and limits as researcher.

But more complex was deciding how to deal with the marginalisation of certain groups among the communities. Communities must not be idealised or romanticised. They are not homogeneous groups, and people have different opinions and positions within them. There are hierarchies, structures, prejudices, social norms and protocols that favour some people and marginalise others. Working with respect for the communities’ culture sometimes placed me in a tricky position, because as Howitt and Stevens (2005) have also noted, I wanted to respect local norms and ways, while at the same time objecting to asymmetries of power. During the development of the research I realised how unequal positions influenced who could participate and have a say in the research. There are many examples I could mention, but one of the most obvious is the subordinated situation of women in Pewenche society. For instance, despite her enthusiasm, capabilities and good reasons to be a tour guide for the horseback riding trips, a young woman was

never allowed to do so and it was considered more appropriate for her to work as a cook⁸. Also, people who lived closer to Ralco tended to visit the NGOs and other institutions more frequently, therefore having more chances to participate and make decisions, and usually ending as the main leaders of Trekaleyin. Levels of education and social position were also relevant, as well as the many stigmas or prejudices attributed to each community, which influenced which ideas and words were more valid. Therefore, considering that participation is not an isolated event but rather is conceptually and operationally intertwined with power and culture (Ivanitz, 1999), I tried to deal with the situations I encountered in a respectful manner while at the same time being honest. I was also aware that, although I would eventually leave, community members and staff from the supporting institutions were going to stay in Alto Bío-Bío, and therefore will have to deal with the consequences of my (and their) decisions, which led me to search for “moral, ethical and pragmatic approaches” (Cahill et al., 2007 p. 310).

But what happens when we also think critically about our research participants? When we see their contradictions and imperfections? How much can we criticise them when we also want to support them? Or how open can we be about it? With whom and how can we talk/write about these issues? Crang and Cook (2007) have acknowledged that sharing our analysis and conclusions with the research participants can be very tricky if one is critical about what they do or say, or if they do not like or agree with our ideas. Working with a PAR perspective it was possible to discuss many of these issues with the participants to some degree. However, I had to learn to talk about them with the right people at the right time, also considering if it was better to do so in public or privately. I also realised that some topics that to me did not seem particularly problematic, for others (communities and NGO's) could mean a lot more, because they were linked to their reputation, jobs or their real motivations and expectations. Also, as Leyva and Speed (2008) have suggested, doing participatory research limited somehow my “independence” as a researcher, but enriched my work in other ways.

These dilemmas also led me to consider how, as Julie Cupples and Sara Kindon (2003) have mentioned, my commitment to support the communities at the same time enhanced, distorted and complicated the writing process, and could potentially lead me to be less critical. As they suggest, the influence of relationships and solidarity can prevent deeper analysis and the consideration of

⁸ Although I am aware of the importance of gender dynamics, it is beyond the scope of this research to deal in depth with them as that could be a thesis topic itself.

multiple layers and complexities in our writing. But dealing with these questions I also tried to reflect on the ways in which my research could be interpreted, misinterpreted or used by other people afterwards, as Cahill (2007) has recommended. For example, when writing about Trekaleyn I became aware that what I wrote could affect their relations with the state and other institutions, as well as their tourism business. Although I could “advertise” Trekaleyn to a different public with my work, I could also damage it in other ways. By mentioning the informal or “under the table” agreements that supporting institutions make with people in order to have better outcomes for their work, often not known or agreed by their superiors, I could also harm them. Also, although I do not intend to “speak” for the communities or to be considered an “expert” on Mapuche issues, I know that my approach towards issues of hybridity and anti-essentialism can clash with what part of the Mapuche movement and intellectuals postulate. Among them, and for different reasons, some have privileged discourses of authenticity and tradition that reinforce boundaries and differences with the Chilean society and culture (Zapata, 2006). Although I tried to handle these issues carefully, combining loyalty and solidarity with an acceptable level of rigour and analysis, I know I cannot know all the implications and possible interpretations of this work. But, as Maxey (1999 p. 206) has noted, “not knowing the full implications of our writing and actions does not, however, reduce our responsibilities”.

After discussing some of the difficulties I encountered along this research, if I ask myself whether “is it truly possible to achieve a balance of power between researcher and participants ... Where does the control of the research process actually rest ... And is it truly possible for a researcher coming from a particular cultural context to bridge contesting epistemologies” (Ivanitz, 1999 p. 55), my answer would probably be a mixed one. On the one hand, while conducting this research from participatory and decolonising approaches, I also realised that it is not enough to change only individual practices but that transformations are also needed at the institutional and even societal levels. As Leyva and Speed (2008) have mentioned, at times I felt like I was trapped between my good intentions to do things differently, and institutional limitations I was unable to change. Academic institutions ask for specific kinds of analysis and ways to present results. Although the academic environment and conventions certainly facilitated a more sophisticated understanding of the issues I was researching, it also required me to “translate” what I experienced and learnt in the field into proper academic language and style. Universities and the academic world only look at the production of theses, publications, conferences presentations and the like, neglecting many other important things that one does or could do with the participants. As a young and relatively inexperienced researcher, constrained by deadlines, funding, distance and the difficulties of working in a second

language, I assume I was not able to successfully make the “double effort” to work and contribute outside academic spaces once I returned to Aotearoa New Zealand, which as Kindon and Pain have (2007a) indicated, requires commitment, creativity and imagination. Considering the extent to which I was able to fulfil the compromises acquired in the field after I left, as well as how to make the final results of this research accessible and useful to the communities, while at the same time, making a contribution to academic and scholarly knowledge, was not easy. After leaving Chile, although I maintained some forms of collaboration, my work focused more on an academic audience and in the completion of my thesis. Consequently, being aware and working ethically and in a participatory fashion has led me to consider critically and reflexively my achievements and limitations, to learn from them and to consider the ways I could improve my own practices.

My answer is also ambivalent with regards to the changes this research made to the inequalities of traditional academic research, but I nevertheless believe I made a small and humble contribution towards more inclusive, empowering, shared and mutually beneficial means to do research. I hope this experience, and the auto-critical account I have offered in this section, can help to improve these methodological approaches, and motivate others, mainly Chilean geographers, to engage with them. Although I am aware of the limitations of my research, I think it was still worth the effort. In a concrete, real situation, and facing many constraints, the participants and I created ways to work and investigate together, tried to decolonise ourselves and to enact more equal spaces and relations of co-existence. Although I had more control and influence over the production of this thesis, everybody involved in it took part from his or her own position and motivations. The participants were not doing a PhD, the same way I do not work in tourism as a way to strengthen my self-determination and wellbeing, but this did not mean we could not work, negotiate and build something collaboratively. In fact I am sure that, with its many problems and deficiencies, it was much better to take this road and make this effort than not even trying. We all learned something and gained important experiences. We all are now better equipped to continue our work and embark on new endeavours.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the approaches and methods I chose for this research, as well as the dilemmas and decisions I encountered along the way. I have explored the ways in which they relate to and have been shaped by the theoretical and practical motivations and purposes of this

thesis. This involves values, beliefs and my intentions to support the efforts and struggles that these communities are leading, as well as to contribute to broader discussions around self-determination, decolonisation and social justice. Despite its many limitations and contradictions, particularly in relation to my desire to develop participatory and decolonising research, I believe that the methodological approaches I chose were pertinent to the overall aims and lines of this work, which is reflected by the continued engagement of members of Trekaleyin and their supporting institutions until today.

In this chapter I have located myself within this research, taking into consideration the dynamism and contradictions this entails. Power relations, my greater control over issues of representation and the final production of the knowledges presented in this thesis, together with the fact that I am probably the one who will benefit most from this work, remain controversial and continue to demand careful attention and consideration. However, I have learned enormously and I still have much to learn. But above all, I hope that the chapters that follow, that is, on what I transformed the knowledges generated during this investigation, satisfy and make a contribution to the "hearts and minds" of those ("thinking-feeling" beings) who read it. Through an albeit limited effort, I hope to have contributed to the process of becoming more creative, aware, idealistic and committed to expand the possibilities of more enabling, inclusive and just ways of co-existence

CHAPTER 3

MAKING MULTICULTURALISM AND AUTONOMY (OTHERWISE): NEOLIBERALISM, TOURISM AND THE MAPUCHE STRUGGLE

Introduction

I first met Raúl Millaleo (pseudonym) in 2005, when as Regional Manager of Sendero de Chile I was invited to a community meeting. As the *lonko* of Butalelbún, a community that borders with Argentina in the midst of the Andes, he was one of the main leaders of what was then the incipient Pewenche tourism network that later became what is now Trekaleyin. It was my first time in Butalelbún, and the meeting was in a dark room full of people at the local school. When it was my turn to introduce myself and talk about the programme I was working on I was very anxious, particularly since the staff of an institution that had spoken before me had been harshly questioned and criticised. However, Raúl and most community members were favourable to the idea of tourism and of building potential links with my programme, so after a few questions the meeting moved onto other community issues. That was the beginning of a relationship that included many meetings, horseback riding trips to the mountains, and visits to other Mapuche communities in Chile. Raúl was a competent and respected leader, and he firmly thought that tourism was an interesting way to improve the economic situation of his and the other communities of the Queuco valley, but also to support their process of land and other rights reclamation. I later left Chile to come to Aotearoa New Zealand. The next time I met Raúl he was in jail in Los Angeles. He had been charged for his role as a *lonko* in leading land recoveries in 2000, and was still convinced of the importance of tourism for his community. It was heart-breaking to see him unfairly jailed, missing so much his community and his freedom. However it made me realise the highly politicised and conflictive setting in which Trekaleyin and its leaders operate, and how it is intrinsically linked to their broader struggles. In this chapter I aim to explore this context, the ways in which it shapes Trekaleyin, and how Trekaleyin is another form of resistance and creativity being deployed by community members.

Since the 1970s indigenous movements have increasingly become prominent political actors around the world, particularly in Latin America (Bengoa, 2000; Burguete, 2008; De la Cadena and Starn, 2007a). Mainly since the 1990s, these movements have developed diverse and more profound discourses and methods of decolonisation, where autonomy, although not a new demand, has become

a key element (González et al., 2010; López Bárcenas, 2006). Demands for autonomy and decolonisation have certainly also been present in Chile where, after the end of Pinochet dictatorship in 1990, indigenous and in particular Mapuche organisations and leaders have become more vocal than ever before, becoming one of the more active sectors in questioning the state and neoliberal policies (Haughney, 2007; Vergara and Foerster, 2002).

Increasingly, indigenous movements have gained visibility at local, national and global levels. Particularly since the 1990s, a time of consolidation of neoliberalism, they have been able to influence the recognition of their rights and the promotion of their participation and consultation by multinational institutions such as the United Nations, the International Labour Organization, the Organization of American States, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the European Union, and various bilateral aid agencies, negotiating their position and agendas, while shaping and transforming development and policy paradigms (Anaya, 2006; Andolina et al., 2009). Unlike many other social movements, in the era of neoliberalism indigenous organisations have become stronger and succeeded in some of their demands. In Latin America, during the last decades most states have developed constitutional, legal and policy reforms that to varying degrees acknowledge indigenous rights to identity, participation, territory and self-government (Park and Richards, 2007; Leyva et al., 2008). However, far from fulfilling indigenous peoples' expectations of real changes in power relationships, wealth redistribution, territorial and political control, these reforms have often led to increased frustration and tension, as well as to mounting criticisms over Western models of progress (López Bárcenas, 2006). But even if deficient, these legal and policy advances are indeed interesting, and have prompted diverse interpretations. For some, multiculturalism and the extension of indigenous rights is a natural consequence of democracy (Brysk, 2000), while for others, Latin American states have incorporated indigenous demands only to reduce conflict, maintain political stability and legitimate themselves in the international arena (Van Cott, 2000). However, Charles Hale (2002) has argued that these analyses inflate the power of indigenous movements overlooking the fact that these policies are in actual fact the strategic moves of neoliberal states. Thus, for him this "neoliberal multiculturalism" constitutes a new form of governance in which the demands of indigenous movements are managed from a neoliberal framework, involving the limited recognition of their rights to territory and culture as a way to generate consent for neoliberalism. Overall, despite its rhetoric, multicultural policies have led to assimilationist results (Richards, 2010), incorporating diversity as a strategy for control and global capitalist expansion without posing real challenges to structures of racial hierarchy and economic inequality (Hale, 2008; Postero and Zamosc, 2004).

In this context Chile is particularly interesting. Although it was the first country in Latin America to embrace neoliberalism in the 1970s, it has been the last to embrace constitutional multiculturalism (Richards, 2010), with the constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples still pending and an associated consultation process so questioned that it had to be recently suspended (Alorda, 2011; Centro de Políticas Públicas, 2011a; 2011b; Correa, 2011; El Ciudadano, 2011). It was also one of the last countries in the region to ratify the 1989 International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention 169. In general, the advances of multiculturalism in Chile have been slow and contradictory, resulting in a complex and tense situation that involves welfare policies alongside human rights violations, state violence and repression, even resulting in the death of Mapuche activists by the police (Aylwin, 2009).

In this chapter I will explore the relations between the Mapuche and the Chilean society and state in order to understand the setting in which Trekaleyin is engaged. This is key to recognise that, as the experience of Raúl Millaleo suggests, Trekaleyin does not exist in a political vacuum, but is rather embedded in a long history of indigenous resistance and struggles, with local, national and international connections. Therefore, this chapter seeks to make a contribution to critical studies of neoliberalism in geography and beyond that have questioned the apparent inevitability and hegemony of neoliberalism (and multiculturalism), by exploring their variability, plurality, hybridity, and socially constructed nature (Laurie and Bondi, 2005). From an ethnographic location, I aim to examine the workings of multiculturalism and the ways in which Trekaleyin, together with transforming community members' livelihoods, is expanding the possibilities for the assertion of autonomy, decolonisation and political participation, while at the same time re-working neoliberalism and multiculturalism.

In order to do that, I will first provide an overview of Mapuche history in what is today Chile, and its implications for the Pewenche communities of Alto Bío-Bío. Drawing on but also expanding Hale's (2006) ideas on neoliberal multiculturalism, I will then discuss the more recent relations between the Mapuche and Chile and its contradictory outcomes and challenges. Later, this chapter will explore contemporary indigenous perspectives on autonomy and decolonisation that challenge and rework multiculturalism in Latin America and Chile. And finally, I will examine how Trekaleyin is embedded in this political context and the possibilities it is opening. Although the first three sections of the chapter are lengthy, I believe it is important to deal with these important issues in enough detail to lay the foundations not only of this chapter, but of the rest of this thesis.

Of Mapuche and *winkas*: Dispossession, stereotypes and alliances from colonisation to 1990.

In order to understand current political conflicts and relations, imagine other possibilities, and appreciate how Mapuche indigeneity has been shaped and transformed, it is important to historicise the relationships between the Mapuche people and non-Mapuche or *winkas*⁹. These date back to the arrival of the Spanish colonisers in the mid-fifteenth century to the *Wallmapu* or Mapuche ancestral territory, a vast territory stretching from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, involving parts of what are today southern Chile and Argentina (Hernández, 2003). The relations the Mapuche maintained with Spaniards and later Chileans laid the foundations for their current land claims and demands for the recognition of collective political rights. It is also significant to acknowledge that current Mapuche involvement in politics is not a recent phenomenon as is sometimes suggested. Instead, it has been constant since the sixteenth century, involving the strategic and continued formation of alliances with different parties, which to this day frustrates the Chilean government for its impossibility to have a single valid interlocutor (Martínez Neira, 2010). Finally, it is also important to understand the ways in which the Mapuche have been portrayed in Chilean imaginations according to shifting narratives and historical contexts. In recent years, Mapuche intellectuals and historians have embarked on efforts to decolonise history according to Mapuche perspectives and epistemologies, among which the publication of the book *¡...Escucha, winka...!* (or “Listen winka!”) (Marimán et al., 2006b) has been exemplary. Therefore, in this section, I try to privilege these Mapuche perspectives and accounts.

After having effectively resisted the Incas, the Mapuche successfully battled the Spanish invasion and, in contrast with most indigenous peoples in the rest of the Americas, signed 28 treaties with the Spanish Crown between 1641 (Parlamento de Quilín) and 1803 (Parlamento de Negrete), in which their territory and sovereignty was officially recognised (Bengoa, 1996). Some of these treaties involved directly the Pewenche, such as the Parlamento de Trapihue in 1774 (Molina and Correa, 1998). Although precarious and not exempt from military conflicts, Mapuche autonomy to the south of the Bío Bío River lasted for about 300 years until the Chilean military invasion. During this time, Mapuche social and political organisations and structures remained vibrant (Millalén, 2006; Marimán, 2006), and they maintained commercial, religious and political relations with the

⁹ *Winka*, meaning thief or invader in *Mapudungún*, the Mapuche language, is used to refer to Chileans and non-Mapuche in general.

Spaniards. Over time Mapuche livelihoods changed and trade gained increasing prominence, which ranged from local and frontier level, to more distant regions such as Perú and Argentina (Boccará, 1999; 2005; Pinto, 2003).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Mapuche became involved in the Chilean independence war from Spain forming alliances with both royalist and patriot factions (Martínez Neira, 2010), as also did the Pewenche in Alto Bío-Bío (Aguilera Milla, 1987; Molina and Correa, 1998). During that time, and as was common in other parts of the Americas, Chilean patriots included the Mapuche in their discourse as an example of heroic people that for centuries resisted the Spanish rule. However, in the mid-nineteenth century once Chilean independence was declared and the new republic created, these discourses shifted. Geopolitical interests to stop Argentinean expansion in the south, demands for agricultural lands due to the interest to integrate the Chilean economy into international markets, and the spread of positivist logic that promoted the expansion of civilisation, led to the portrayal of the Mapuche as barbarous, uncivilised and backwards, whose conquest was urgent for the good of humanity and civilisation. These discourses justified the Chilean war of extermination, ironically called “Pacificación de la Araucanía¹⁰” (Pacification of the Araucanía), and the military occupation of the *Wallmapu* (Marimán, 2002a; Richards, 2010). In Alto Bío-Bío Chile’s military expeditions began in 1882, also a time when large private estates were formed. In less than a decade the whole area was “legally” in the hands of private landowners, mainly through deceit and fraud.

In 1883, the Chilean state formally annexed Mapuche territory, and until 1920 surviving Mapuche were relegated to 3,000 reservations (“reducciones”) through the creation of Títulos de Merced. These reservations were arbitrarily defined by the state and only to a certain degree based on previous Mapuche organisations, and reduced Mapuche lands to roughly 5% of their original territory (Aylwin, 2002). The remaining lands were declared vacant and handed to Chilean or European settlers, which had devastating effects on Mapuche people and their economic, political and cultural systems. They were forced to become farmers usually in marginal and limited lands, and schools and missions were established to assimilate them, while their leaders and socio-territorial structures were ignored (McFall, 2002; Pinto, 2003). In Alto Bío-Bío three Títulos de Merced were granted between 1919 and 1920 only in the Queuco valley, where the communities strongly advocated

¹⁰ Araucanía is the name given by the Spaniards to the Mapuche territories of Southern Chile, who also called Mapuche people “araucanos”. These terms have been questioned among the Mapuche for their derogative and colonial nature (Boccará, 2005), but continue to be used among Chileans.

for it. In a partial and incomplete process, Títulos de Merced were given to Cauñicú, Malla Malla and Trapa Trapa (including what is today Butalebún), but largely respecting the limits of private titles in the area. Overlooking Pewenche ancestral occupation and demands, they laid the foundations for land claims that have lasted until today (Molina and Correa, 1998). As can be seen in Figure 7, this process took place relatively later than in the rest of Chile, and the three Títulos de Merced granted in the area (similarly to other mountainous sectors), were larger than in the “fertile” central valley.

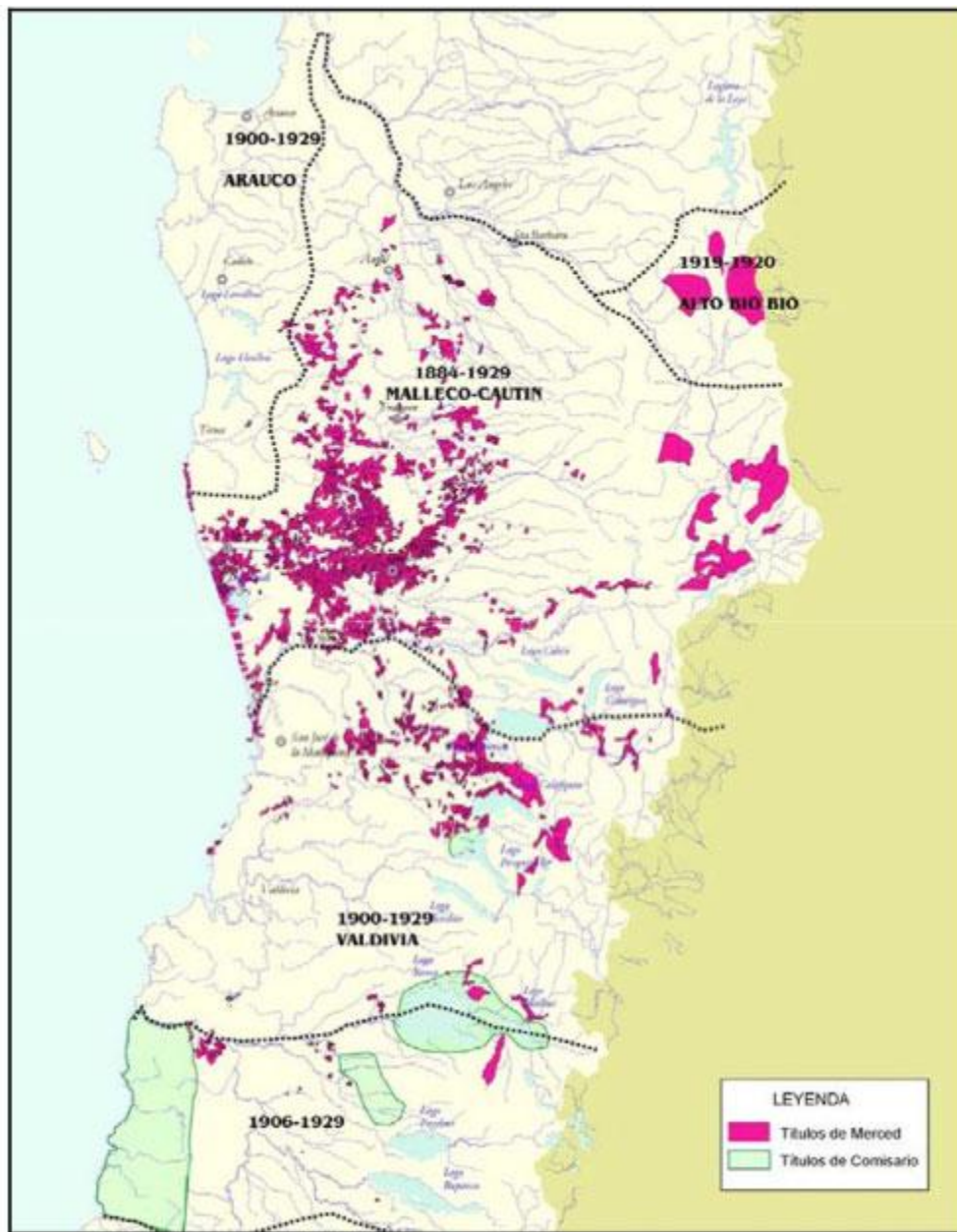


Figure 7. Distribution of Títulos de Merced
Source: Comisión Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato (2003), accessed from Hirt (2008)

The violence and dispossession of this process of “*pacificación*” are still present in Mapuche people’s memory (Caniqueo, 2006). Until recently, official narratives and schoolbooks presented the “*Pacificación*” as a triumph of civilisation over barbarity, discounting Mapuche losses in human life, lands and autonomy. During the first half of the twentieth century, as European and Chilean settlers further displaced the Mapuche, the stereotype of the lazy and idle Indian emerged, further supporting their dispossession (Hernández, 2003). Although by the 1930s the image of the brave Mapuche had been re-introduced into public discourse, in Chilean identity discourses the Mapuche were erased, marginalised or idealised as warriors, thus constructing relations between Mapuche and Chileans in dichotomous terms (Richards, 2010).

But in spite of these huge losses, during the twentieth century the Mapuche organised themselves in diverse ways, participating in different political parties and creating organisations such as the *Sociedad Caupolicán* and the *Federación Araucana*, (Bengoa, 1996; Haughney, 2006). Some Mapuche leaders became members of the parliament, mayors, and even ministers (Martínez Neira, 2010; Morales Urrea, 2002b), and both right and left sectors in Chile included the Mapuche in their political programmes without acknowledging their cultural specificities. But despite their participation in politics, they could not stop the legal reforms that promoted the division of Mapuche collective land titles, and by 1971 a total number of 832 reductions were divided, leading to further territorial losses (Aylwin, 2002). During the agrarian reforms between 1965 and 1972, Mapuche movements were successful in regaining control of an important part of their lands. However, these reforms were based on class and not ethnicity, and therefore the Mapuche were included only as peasants (Aylwin, 2002), and for instance in Alto Bío-Bío, the agrarian reform benefited mostly poor Chilean settlers rather than the *Pewenche* (Molina, 1998). Nevertheless, in 1972 Allende passed for the first time in Chile a law relating to indigenous peoples, but it was never put into practice due to the imminent military coup in 1973 (Caniqueo, 2006).

During the Pinochet dictatorship, Mapuche organisations were repressed and dismantled. Although Pinochet called the Mapuche “one of the essential components in the formation of our nationality” (quoted in Richards, 2010 p. 64), in practice he was committed to their assimilation and disappearance. During the Pinochet government 84% of Mapuche land recovered during the agrarian reforms were either given back to their previous legal owners or sold to private companies (Levil Chicahual, 2006), and by the end of the dictatorship around 2,000 communities had been divided, leaving just over 100 communities undivided in the entire country. Legal reforms that pushed for this

division also stipulated that once indigenous lands were plotted, their occupants also lost their indigenous status (Aylwin, 2002; Calbucura, 1996). In Alto Bío-Bío, lands were also given back either to their former “legal” owners or to settlers, and in the Queuco valley only Pitril had their lands divided into individual plots, and Trapa Trapa (including today’s Butalelbún), Malla Malla and Cañicú are today among the few communities in Chile that retain collective land ownership (Molina and Correa, 1998).

At the end of the dictatorship, poverty levels were high among rural Mapuche, as was their migration to the cities. The reforms carried out under Pinochet contributed to the long history of territorial losses for the Mapuche that underpin contemporary demands to recover what they call “tierras usurpadas” (usurped lands) (Aylwin, 2007). Despite the oppression suffered under the Pinochet regime, the Mapuche, supported by a range of local, national and international actors such as NGOs, churches, peasant movements and Mapuche living in exile, created “cultural centres” that in 1980 united under the umbrella of *Ad Mapu*, the first and probably most important Mapuche organisation created during the dictatorship (Levil Chichahual, 2006). Mapuche activists also took part in key international indigenous events around the world, such as the Barbados Declaration in 1978. Also during the dictatorship, a new generation of Mapuche leaders started to emerge which, encouraged by the effects of the dictatorship and international pro-indigenous discourses, led to the increased internationalisation of Mapuche movements and their self-identification as a “people” in 1978 for the first time (Caniuqueo, 2006). Mapuche sectors also actively participated in the struggles to end the dictatorship, creating alliances and organisations that influenced the kind of participation, agreements, and policies on indigenous issues that took place in post-dictatorship Chile (Martínez Neira, 2010).

Neoliberalism, multiculturalism and the Mapuche people in post-dictatorship Chile.

Neoliberalism has been one of the most important and enduring legacies of the dictatorship in Chile, profoundly influencing the situation of indigenous peoples. Although defining neoliberalism entails difficulties, particularly since it has been acknowledged to be an hybrid, contradictory and non-monolithic set of processes, discourses and practices (Perreault and Martin, 2005; Radcliffe, 2007), neoliberalism is usually understood as an ideology, a policy framework and a form of

governmentality that refers to “new forms of political-economic governance premised on the extension of market relationships” (Larner, 2000 p. 5). Moving away from Keynesian approaches that emphasise state intervention, and drawing on liberal ideas from the nineteenth century, neoliberalism advocates for free market and the reduction of the state (Simon, 2008). It became more influential when, due to a series of political and economic shocks at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s that included the rise in oil prices, the slowdown of the world economy and the “debt crisis”, international development institutions and governments around the world shifted from protectionism to free market and export-oriented strategies (Lawson, 2007). This was promoted by international organisations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank that imposed structural adjustment policies (SAPs) on indebted countries, which, inspired by neoliberalism, involved trade liberalisation, privatisation, currency devaluation, state reduction and opening to foreign investment, that resulted in huge social costs among more vulnerable sectors (Cupples, 2010). Since then neoliberalism has become hegemonic among development approaches, and its assumption that the economy should dictate the norms of the society has become “almost a religion in itself” (Power, 2003 p. 9). This is certainly the case in Latin America, where, to varying degrees, neoliberalism has been applied in all countries over the past thirty years (Burguete, 2010), including Chile.

Although the neoliberal project had been cultivated in Chile since the 1950s, it began to be directly implemented in 1975, two years after the coup, by the Chicago Boys, a group of economists trained at the University of Chicago School of Economics under the influence of Milton Friedman. Taking advantage of the tight control of social protest and the international Cold War context, they transformed the country into a laboratory for the world economy (Klein, 2007; Pinto and Salazar, 2002), and in a few years Chile became one of the most open and free economies in the world (Murray, 2009). Chile’s experience has shaped neoliberal thought and is commonly used as an example around the globe (Lawson, 2007; Willis and Kumar, 2009), and in fact, it has been suggested that the Chilean experience gave international credibility to neoliberalism, which until then had encountered only moderate support (Larner, 2003). Through different stages of implementation, from orthodox to more pragmatic approaches, at the end of Pinochet’s government, in Chile there existed a well-entrenched neoliberal system, which was later continued and slightly modified by the Concertación¹¹ governments. Under slogans such as “reforms to the reforms” and “growth with

¹¹ “Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia” or “Concertación”, is the coalition that, in partnership with others sectors of the political left, brought about the end of Pinochet’s rule and stayed in power between 1990 and 2010 with four successively elected presidents. It groups together centre-left political parties like

equity”, Concertación governments were more open to social issues and participation, combining macroeconomic balances, market social economy and formal democracy, without challenging the basic tenets of neoliberalism in Chile (Ffrench-Davis, 2004; Gómez Leyton, 2010; Pinto and Salazar, 2002). As a result of its macroeconomic achievements, Chile became discursively constructed as “a model” and a successful socioeconomic “miracle”, which has fuelled the Chilean obsession with development and economic growth, where entrepreneurial drive, dynamism, success, profit and consumption have become key values (Cáceres, 2007). As Jorge Larraín (2003 p. 151, my translation) notes “the central idea is that Chile is a country different from the rest of Latin America ... Chile is a winner country which has the status of developed country at hand”. However, despite macroeconomic records and Concertación’s rhetoric of social inclusion, high levels of inequalities that increased under Pinochet’s rule continued to deepen after 1990, situating Chile amongst the 12 countries with the worst income distribution in the world (Pizarro, 2005; Palma, 2007). Also, in 2009 poverty levels increased for the first time since 1990 (Ministerio de Planificación, 2010).

But the inclusion of more-than-economic elements into the neoliberal framework is not an exclusively Chilean event. Although it was shaped by the particular events in Chile at that time, Andolina et al (2009) have acknowledged a global tendency in the 1990s to move towards “social neoliberalism”, which emerged as a critique to previously narrow, economicist and technocratic neoliberal approaches. Social neoliberalism involved the acknowledgement that sustainability, inclusion, cultural diversity and participation were also necessary for development, along with efficiency, productivity and self-help. Reconfigured by multiple agendas and actors, social neoliberalism is therefore a broad paradigm that includes, among other concerns, the acknowledgement of cultural difference, within which Andolina et al. (2009) situate the emergence of what Hale (2002) calls neoliberal multiculturalism. Therefore, for them “neoliberal multiculturalism is produced in a more transnational and networked fashion than Hale’s analysis suggest” (p. 8), where international agencies as well indigenous organisations around the world play key roles along with the state.

Influenced by social neoliberalism, the end of the dictatorship, and the increasing recognition of indigenous rights around the world, Chile started its engagement with (neoliberal) multiculturalism in the 1990s in a more cautious and slow fashion than most Latin American

Democracia Cristiana (DC), Socialista (PS), Radical Social Demócrata (PRS) and the Partido por la Democracia (PPD) among others.

countries (Aylwin, 2002; Boccara and Bolados, 2010). The defeat of Pinochet in the 1988 plebiscite raised expectations of increased political participation and inclusion in Chile, and in 1989 Mapuche organisations signed the “Acuerdo de Nueva Imperial” (Nueva Imperial Agreement) with Patricio Aylwin, then the Concertación presidential candidate who took office in 1990. The agreement was seen as a promising step towards changes in the historical relations between the state and the Mapuche. It declared the commitment to solve several important demands among indigenous organisations, including: Mapuche land claims; the recognition of indigenous peoples and rights in the Chilean Constitution; the creation of laws, policies and institutions to deal with indigenous matters; and to sign international treaties such as the ILO Convention 169 (Levil Chicahual, 2006), one of the first and more important international conventions on indigenous rights (Anaya, 2006). Therefore, as Patricia Richards (2010 p. 7) suggests, neoliberal multiculturalism in Chile is a “transnationally informed set of discourses and practices ... [shaped also by] the particularities of Chilean history as well as the demands made by the Mapuche movement since the return to democracy”. But although Mapuche entered into this agreement hoping for a more inclusive future, the dispossession and marginalisation of indigenous people and rights has continued (Levil Chicahual, 2006).

Despite the opportunities it has opened in terms of the creation of laws, policies and the effective exercise of certain rights, research in Latin America and Chile has demonstrated that in general terms multiculturalism has resulted in “empty rights”, or a huge gap between what is declared and what is done (Burguete, 2008; Díaz-Polanco, 2006). Alvaro Bello (2004) explains that this is due to the fact that multicultural reforms were not aimed at solving problems of the indigenous peoples, but rather to improve the efficiency of the State, spread the neoliberal model and “tame differences” as a mechanism to depoliticise indigenous movements. But the situation is even more complex because, as a result of the expansion of the global economy, Latin American countries have deepened their exploitation of natural resources, and indigenous peoples and territories have become increasingly more vulnerable and under pressure (Bebbington, 2009).

Overall in Chile the implementation of multiculturalism has been a contradictory and multidimensional process. It has been influenced by the authoritarian legacy of state and political centralisation, entrenched neoliberalism, and the ethnocentric belief in the existence of national homogeneity in which the indigenous are irrelevant or non-existent. These factors have prevented acknowledging the effects of historical and current forms of colonialism on indigenous peoples in Chile, and further hindered the recognition of their historically based collective rights (Haughney,

2006; 2007; Marimán and Aylwin, 2008; Richards, 2004). Therefore, despite the promising beginnings of Chile's "democratic" transition, indigenous policies have resulted in a conflicting set of institutions and rules, leading to a series of misunderstandings, divergences and the further discrediting of the state, in which indigenous demands for recognition, autonomy and decentralisation have not been taken seriously (Assies, 2006).

The paradoxes of (neoliberal) multiculturalism in Chile

Drawing on Hale's (2002) work on neoliberal multiculturalism, three main issues particularly relevant to understanding the Chilean/Mapuche situation can be identified.

The denial of collective rights and the persistence of one unitary Chilean nation

First, Hale (2002) observes that within multiculturalism, indigenous peoples' cultural rights, such as language, intercultural education and healthcare are acknowledged, while their political and economic collective rights are ignored, resulting in the promotion of indigenous cultures but delinking them from political influence and economic redistribution. This is clear in Chile, where indigenous issues have been understood as primarily socioeconomic problems, and dealt with through development and poverty oriented solutions that neglect the recognition of collective rights, autonomy and their existence as people (Richards, 2004; 2010; Vergara and Foerster, 2002). This has been the case since the first post-dictatorship government, when as a result of the "Acuerdo de Nueva Imperial", massive Mapuche participation in the recently created CEPI (Comisión Especial de los Pueblos Indígenas) drafted proposals for indigenous legislation, indigenous people's constitutional recognition, and the ratification of the ILO Convention 169. However, the latter two were rejected in the parliament, and the "Indigenous Law" (Law number 19.253) that was finally passed in 1993, was heavily modified from the original proposal - leaving out many key indigenous demands. Although this law considered indigenous peoples' rights to land, language, culture and development, it disregarded indigenous traditional organisations, collective political rights (such as autonomy, self-management and a justice system), and their territorial rights involving all natural resources and not only land (Aylwin, 2009; Levil Chicahual, 2006; Tricot, 2007). It created the "Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena" (CONADI, National Corporation for Indigenous Peoples' Development), the "Fondo de Tierras y Aguas" (Lands and Waters Fund) to buy lands and water rights for indigenous communities or individuals, and the "Áreas de Desarrollo Indígena" (Indigenous Development Areas, ADI). But despite their rhetoric, these institutional changes soon proved to be limited both in terms

of participation and co-management, and on concrete outcomes, increasing indigenous peoples' frustration (Aylwin, 2006; Meza-Lopehandía, 2007; Calbucura, 2009). Therefore, CEPI constituted the first of a series of initiatives established by each subsequent government to deal with indigenous issues, which beyond their grand statements, have continued to deny collective rights, the marginalisation of wide sectors of the Mapuche movement, and the framing of the "Mapuche problem" as poverty-based and therefore addressed through a "more development" approach with an ethnic component (Boccarra and Bolados, 2010; Marimán, 2011; Richards, 2004).

The late and controversial endorsement of the ILO Convention number 169 only in 2008, after almost two decades of indigenous pressure and much later than most Latin American countries, as well as the still pending constitutional recognition of indigenous peoples, also shows the ethnocentrism and assimilationism prevalent among most Chilean political sectors, which have maintained that Chile is one, indivisible and multicultural nation (Aylwin, 2009; Richards, 2010). Current legal recognition of indigenous peoples only as ethnic groups and not as "peoples" as such, has serious implications. First, it negates more comprehensive collective political and territorial rights that, according to international standards (such as declarations of the UN, ILO and the Organisation of American States), apply to "peoples" and not to ethnic groups (Levil Chicahual, 2006). And second, it denies indigenous' peoples difference and the possibility of the co-existence of many nations within one state (Marimán and Aylwin, 2008), as has been recently recognised in Bolivia and Ecuador that have declared themselves "plurinational states" (García, 2009; Gonsálvez, 2010; Santos, 2008). Therefore, "while some critics argue that neoliberal multiculturalism consists of symbolic recognition with little redistributive substance, recognition itself is a limited and highly controlled aspect of neoliberal multiculturalism in Chile" (Richards, 2010 p. 70).

The predominance of capital investment over indigenous rights

Hale (2002) has also indicated that, as multiculturalism is deeply entrenched in and emerges from neoliberalism, the market and economic globalisation are key factors in defining its priorities and policies. Consequently, the rights acknowledged towards indigenous peoples are subjected to economic interests and respected only insofar as they do not challenge them (Hale, 2004). In Chile advances in indigenous land restitution, consultation, and natural resource protection and control have been weak and controversial (Tricot, 2007). In fact, as shown in Figure 8, less than half of Alto Bío-Bío lands are legally owned by Pewenche people, and land claims remain a crucial matter (Azócar et al., 2005). However, this has sometimes not prevented them from accessing some areas as some of the "legal owners" live in cities distant from Alto Bío-Bío. But in many other cases, this has restricted

the communities' access to places and resources, which poses constraints to their livelihoods, mobility and cultural and spiritual practices.

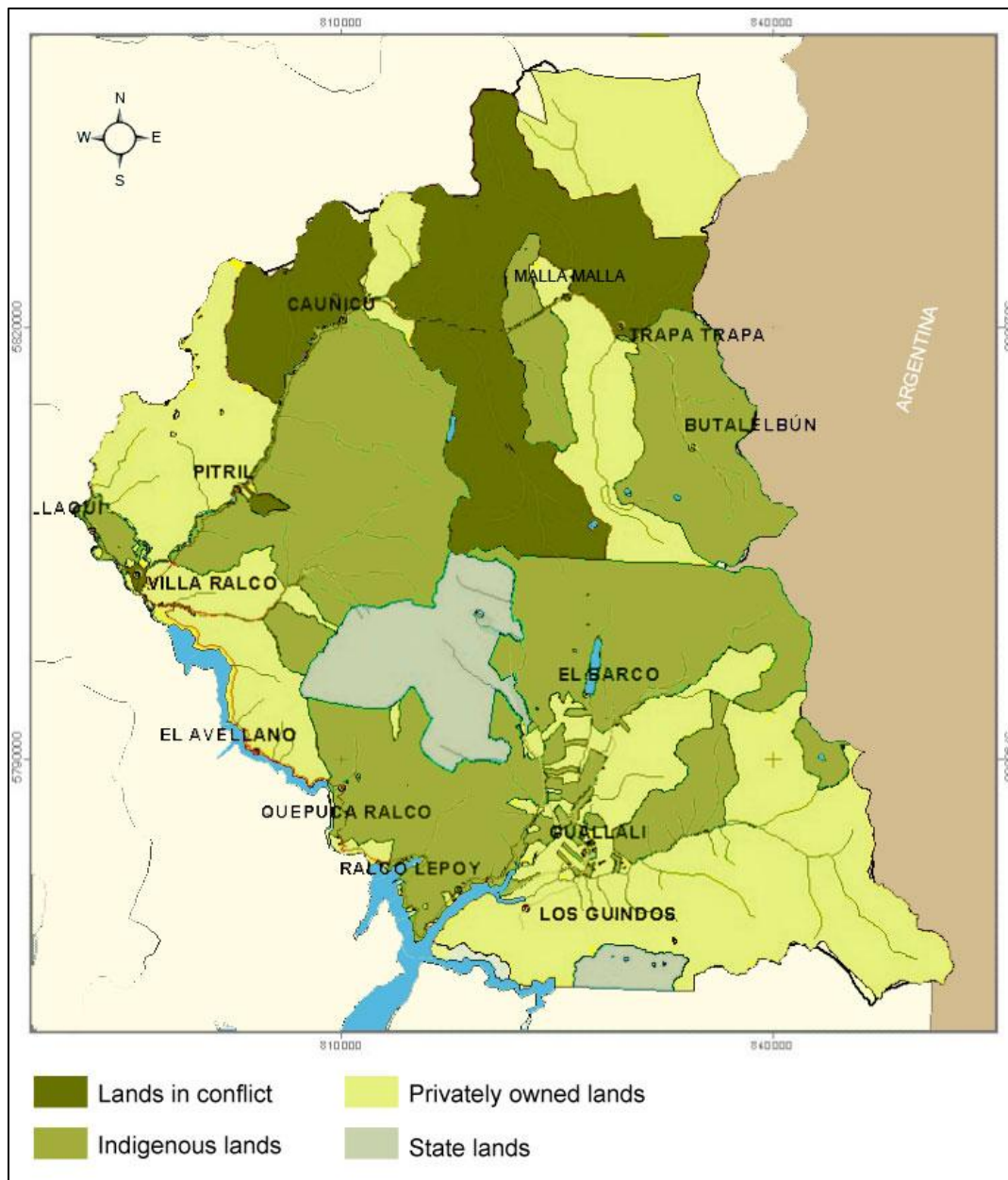


Figure 8. Land ownership in Alto Bío-Bío
Source: Adapted from Azócar et al. (2005)

The legal protection of indigenous territories is particularly fragile because, despite the limited protection given by the Indigenous Law, other sectorial legislation that contradicts it has

been privileged to favour corporate interests (Yáñez, 2008). The process of consultation included in both the Environmental Law and the recently ratified ILO Convention 169, have also been unable to reverse this situation (Aylwin, 2009). In this regard, one of Chile's most emblematic cases of the violation of indigenous rights and forced corporate intervention in indigenous territories took place precisely in Alto Bío-Bío with the construction of the Ralco hydroelectric dam.

Ralco is one among a series of dams proposed in the Bío Bío River by ENDESA, a former power State company privatised under Pinochet rule and now controlled by a Spanish corporation. Ralco became particularly controversial because it was the first dam to be regulated by the recently passed Indigenous (1993) and Environmental (1994) Laws. It was also important as it represented a major cultural and ecological disruption, involving the forced relocation of a hundred Pewenche families and the flooding of 3,500 hectares of Pewenche lands, which are also considered of particularly high ecological relevance. When it had to be evaluated in the recently established system of environmental impact assessment, all the state regulatory institutions involved in the consultation process rejected it, as well as the affected communities. Nevertheless, after aggressive lobbying and the direct intervention of President Frei, the dam was finally approved in 1997 by CONAMA (National Commission for the Environment), the institution that manages environmental impact assessments (Anguita Mariqueo, 2004; Namuncura, 1999). CONADI, the other institution with a decisive role and which was critical of the dam, also finally approved it in 1998, after Frei removed two consecutive national directors and other officers who would not approve it, and appointed its first non-indigenous director. However, several families refused to move, including the Quintremán sisters (Berta and Nicolasa), who actively denounced abuses and human rights violations. But after years of pressures, misinformation and direct coercion, in 2003 the remaining families finally ceded and Ralco was completed (Carruthers and Rodríguez, 2009).

This was the first indigenous and environmental conflict of this scale in Chile, and involved all the national indigenous movements, environmental and human rights organisations, as well as numerous international solidarity groups, and the intervention of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States and the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (Norero, 2007; Latta, 2009). Its construction under such gruesome circumstances and despite massive opposition has had local and national long term effects, further distancing Mapuche sectors from the state (Toledo Llancaqueo, 2007).

Between the “indio permitido” and the “indio insurrecto”

Lastly, according to Hale (2002), neoliberal multiculturalism can also be understood as a form of governmentality that involves the creation of particular subjectivities. In particular, he mentions the “indio permitido” (authorised Indian), referring to those who comply with state initiatives without questioning their limited scope, and are subsequently rewarded through subsidies and funding. In contrast, the “indio insurrecto” (insurrect Indian) are those who challenge neoliberal multiculturalism and demand more meaningful rights recognition and participation, and are consequently marginalised, persecuted and repressed by the state (Hale, 2002; 2004; Hale and Millamán, 2006). In Chile, indigenous policies have involved a dual and contradictory state approach that echoes this distinction (Navarrete, 2010; Toledo Llancaqueo, 2007), and that has made of Chile an “extreme example of the mixing of ‘armed neoliberalism’ and limited recognition policies reduced to a neoindigenism or ‘neoliberal multiculturalism’” (Assies, 2006 p. 16, my translation). By fostering some and delegitimising other identities and actors, the state has tended to reinforce what Acilda Ramos (1998) calls the “hyper-real Indian”, or a stereotyped, standardised version of indigeneity instead of acknowledging the existence of complex and multifaceted indigenous subjectivities. So, on the one hand, the state has implemented welfare policies and programmes to promote an “authorised” version of indigenous peoples. Like the multimillion dollar Programa Orígenes funded by the Inter-American Development Bank, these policies involve funding and training in ways that emphasise “neoliberal values” such as entrepreneurship, self-help, individual land titles, and the inclusion of indigenous peoples’ culture in the market as a “resource” and a “competitive advantage” in activities such as tourism (Boccaro and Bolados, 2010; Briones et al., 2007; Yáñez and Aylwin, 2007).

On the other hand, the state has also engaged in the strong repression of Mapuche sectors that, through different forms of protest such as peaceful demonstrations, road blocks, land occupations, and actions against private property, question and resist the rhetoric and practices of multiculturalism. This “criminalisation” of the Mapuche social protest has involved the legitimisation of violence and police abuses (including house raids, police surveillance and others), as well as the persecution, imprisonment and even the death of three Mapuche activists by the police: Alex Lemún in 2002, Matias Catrileo in 2008, and Jaime Mendoza Collío in 2009 (Mella, 2007b; Richards, 2010). Also, since 2001, antiterrorist legislation dating from the Pinochet’s regime has been applied against

the Mapuche¹², and intelligence operations such as the Operación Paciencia have infiltrated and aimed to disarticulate their organisations (Aylwin, 2006; Marimán and Aylwin, 2008). This situation has alerted national and international human rights organisations, including the International Federation for Human Rights, Human Rights Watch, the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous People, the UN Human Rights Committee, the UN Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Committee and the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child. Their reports question the use of violence and the indiscriminate labelling of “terrorism” to activities that, although represent crimes, do not qualify as terrorism according to international standards (Meza-Lopehandía, 2007; Mella, 2007a; 2007b).

Questioning and expanding neoliberal multiculturalism: Indigenous perspectives on autonomy and decolonisation

Despite its effectiveness for understanding the policies and contradictions faced by indigenous peoples, particularly the Mapuche in Chile, Hale’s ideas about neoliberal multiculturalism have certain limitations. First, his work has been questioned for ignoring the negotiated and embodied nature of neoliberalism and multiculturalism, resulting from the intersection of diverse trajectories and interests (Boccaro and Bolados, 2010; Laurie and Bondi, 2005). So rather than abstract and uniform entities, they are re-constructed at multiple every day and institutional spaces, linking local and translocal actors, histories, attitudes, social relationships and cultural projects (Boccaro and Bolados, 2010; Richards, 2010). The dualism between the “indio permitido” and the “indio insurrecto”, although useful to frame the contradictions of multiculturalism, has also proved to be problematic. As Yun-Joo Park and Patricia Richards (2007) have shown in their study with Mapuche workers in Chile, the ways in which they construct their identities and articulate their engagement with state policies tends to blur this distinction and to mix complicity with resistance, accommodating varied and shifting elements that include but go beyond indigeneity, such as class and political affiliation.

Although a key player as Hale suggests, the state is certainly not the only actor involved in the construction of multiculturalism, and international agencies, local and translocal private

¹² Only in 2010 the antiterrorist law was first applied to non-Mapuche people since the end of the military regime, in the so called “Caso Bombas”.

corporations (large and small), elites, environmental and human rights movements, NGOs, churches, the media, different sectors across the political spectrum and other social sectors, all contribute in the creation and circulation of discourses and practices that influence multiculturalism and its possibilities and outcomes around the world (Andolina et al., 2009), and certainly in Chile (Carruthers and Rodríguez, 2009; Martínez Neira, 2010). For instance, Richards (2010) has demonstrated how in Chile pre-existing discourses of Mapuche terrorism among elites were fuelled by the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington DC in 2001, discursively situating Mapuche activism within a global context of terrorist threats and further justifying the use of state violence and antiterrorist legislation against them.

But among the diverse actors that have shaped multiculturalism, indigenous peoples have been particularly important. By developing local and translocal alliances and processes of negotiation, indigenous peoples have put forward their agenda and advanced their demands (Anaya, 2006; Andolina et al., 2009; Calbucura, 2009; Castree, 2004), and with varying degrees of success, influenced multiculturalism. However, this usually occurs in conditions not of their own choosing, and often their full expectations are not met. In most countries, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith has recognised in Aotearoa New Zealand, neoliberal multiculturalism has been developed by the intertwining of dominant ideologies of free markets and entrepreneurship and the on-going struggle of indigenous activists for the recognition of their rights (Smith, 2007). This has been particularly possible under neoliberalism because of what Evelina Dagnino (2002) has called a “perverse confluence”, in which civil society and indigenous demands for participation and self-management are aligned with neoliberal notions of citizen self-help and responsibility, as well as the reduction of the state. Therefore, “the relationships between neoliberal modes of governmentality and indigenous activism is indeed at once deeply intertwined and marked by fissures, disjunctures, and confrontations of various kinds” (De la Cadena and Starn, 2007b p. 21).

So, recognising the value as well as the limitations of Hale’s work on (neoliberal) multiculturalism, it becomes necessary to turn the attention to other elements that his work downplays. One of the most important issues in this respect, in particular in Latin America, are precisely the strategies and discourses that indigenous groups have developed in this context, that although diverse and not exempt from contradictions, have challenged, re-worked and expanded (neoliberal) multiculturalism. Among these strategies, two elements have become increasingly central: autonomy and decolonisation (Burguete, 2010), to which I will turn next.

Autonomy and decolonisation

Although autonomy has been a constant demand among indigenous peoples throughout history, in the past two decades struggles for autonomy have become stronger, involving deeper questions to prevalent colonial logics, development paradigms, the formation and structure of the state, and some basic tenets of modernity such as individual rights, legal equality, and the division between nature and society (and politics) (López Bárcenas, 2006). Within a context of international recognition of human rights, autonomy gained prominence among Latin American indigenous peoples during the mobilisations against official commemorations of the 500 years of the European arrival to the Americas in 1992, leading to the cohesion of indigenous movements in the continent, as well as the widely publicised “de facto” autonomy developed by the Zapatistas in Chiapas (González and Burguete, 2010). Previous engagements with the idea of autonomy in the 1970s and 1980s privileged the legal arena and led to the creation of the first autonomous regimes in Nicaragua and Colombia, and more recently to the reconfiguration of the state of Bolivia. But beyond legal understandings, autonomy is also understood as a process always under construction to increase the spaces of indigenous freedom, territorial and cultural control, and self-government (Burguete, 2010). Therefore, the current search for autonomy, along with the continuation of the long and varied ways in which indigenous peoples have resisted colonisation, involves direct rebellions as well as everyday struggles. But what is different today is that due to prevalent discourses on participation, the expansion of neoliberalism, and the disappointment with multiculturalism, autonomy is being increasingly incorporated into discourses and practices as a value, a means and an end. Thus autonomy has influenced how people see, think, act and transform the world, enacting in the everyday the “right to cultural alterity and to persist with dignity” (Burguete, 2010 p. 81, my translation), thus steadily permeating collective imagination (Ortiz, 2005).

One of the main differences between autonomy and multicultural stances, despite their common emphasis on rights and participation, is the extent to which those rights and empowerment are being thought of. Among most efforts for autonomy, there is an intention to examine and change the relationships that lead to indigenous subordination, the conditions in which states were established to the detriment of indigenous peoples, as well as the notion of “one state-one nation”. Also, there is an emphasis on recognising and destabilising colonial mechanisms, in particular of “internal colonialism” still present in Latin American societies (for the precursors of this notion of internal colonialism see Díaz-Polanco, 1988; 2003; Stavenhagen, 1963; 1996), and the importance of defending collective forms of rights and property (López Bárcenas, 2006). Frustration over multiculturalism has also led to an increased focus on the recovery and re-construction of indigenous

knowledges to inform ways of organisation, relations to nature and development paradigms such as Buen Vivir in Ecuador and Bolivia (Burguete, 2010), and to support the decolonisation of ways of being and knowing (Walsh, 2005). Finally, there has been a shift towards not only demanding broader spaces within the state apparatus, but also to strengthening indigenous communities and organisations so they become political subjects with the capacity to decide their own issues. Therefore, like the Zapatistas in Chiapas, many indigenous movements have tended to aim for a type of decentralisation that is more interested in “dispersing power” rather than on “seizing power” (Burguete, 2008; Zibechi, 2006).

For Escobar (2010), these contemporary indigenous critiques and proposals in Latin America can have important cultural, political and ecological consequences, because they are suggesting other ways of imagining life, development and the relations between humans and non-humans. By appealing to their “colonial difference” in an era when translocal solidarities have been extended, indigenous movements are not only engaging in a critique of “developmentalism”, but also opening the possibilities for deeper decolonisation (Quijano, 2005). Exposing the intimate relation between modernity and coloniality and the subordination of knowledges and ways of being and knowing (Mignolo, 2007; 2009), indigenous movements today are, according to Escobar (2010), uncovering and challenging the Eurocentrism of current development paradigms. For him, this “uncovering” is leading to postdevelopment stances, understanding them not as the end of development but as its displacement as the “central organizing principle of social life” (p. 12). Escobar also suggests that they could be proposing the possibility of post-liberalism, that is, a society “no longer seen as so thoroughly determined by the constructs of economy, individual, instrumental rationality, private property, and so forth as characteristic of liberalism modernity”, and of post-statism where “the state is not the only way of instituting social power as we have imagined it to be” (p.12). But for Escobar these issues are all the more interesting as these movements are not only referring to a possible future, but also to a reality already being constructed in which “the range of existing social experiences that are considered valid and credible alternatives to what exist is significantly enlarged” (p.12). That is why, for Escobar, these indigenous resistances/proposals can be considered as “ontological struggles”, because without rejecting modernity or pretending a state prior to it, they are hybridising and pluralising it, including what used to be rendered invisible or irrelevant (Santos, 2003) and politicising what used to be in the margins of modern politics (Flórez-Flórez, 2007).

Autonomy and decolonisation among the Mapuche in Chile

The ways in which autonomy stances have been developed by indigenous groups and received in each country depends on several factors, including the characteristics of each movement as well as of the state and the society (Navarrete, 2010; Santos, 2007). In the Southern Cone, and Chile in particular, indigenous autonomy movements have been misunderstood, repressed and criminalised, mainly due to dominant imaginaries of whiteness and unitary nations. In Chile, although present before, autonomy discourses gained prominence during the second half of the 1990s, mainly as a result of the limited and unsatisfactory results of state policies, increasing conflicts over the Ralco dam and logging companies in Mapuche territories, the emergence of a new generation of post-dictatorship Mapuche intellectuals and leaders, and international trends in indigenous and human rights (Marimán and Aylwin, 2008; Vergara and Foerster, 2002). The emergence of what has been called the “new Mapuche movement” and its move towards autonomy entailed a shift from lands and welfare demands as an ethnic minority, to goals of territorial control, and collective rights and self-government as Mapuche nation (Marimán, 2005a; Marimán et al., 2006a; Tricot, 2009).

There are diverse approaches to autonomy among the Mapuche, which since the late 1990s have been developed by different organisations such as the Coordinadora Arauco Malleco, Consejo de Todas las Tierras (*Aukiñ Wallmapu Ngulam*), *Meli Wixan Mapu*, Centro de Estudios Liwen, different territorial identities (including the prominent Lafkenche Territorial Identity), students organisations, and *Wallmapuwen*, a recently formed Mapuche political party, among others (see Currín and Valdés, 2000; Le Bonniec, 2002; Hernández, 2003; Morales Urrea, 2002a). Despite their diversity, the approaches developed by these groups share at least three important common elements. The first is territory, sometimes also referred as Mapuche country (País Mapuche) or *Wallmapu* in *Mapudungún*, understanding it as the material and symbolic basis of the Mapuche people to which they claim ancestral rights. Second is the idea of Mapuche nation and Mapuche people, which as was explained before, entails collective political rights, including self-government, the recognition of particular forms of organisation and leadership, and new ways to enact citizenship and relations with the state. And the third is what has been called the Mapuche world or “Mundo Mapuche”, which refers to the Mapuche values, knowledges and ways of being that, although made invisible in mainstream and Eurocentric discourses, have stubbornly remained among the Mapuche as key elements for wellbeing, development, and the relations with natural and non-human beings (Marimán, 2005a; Zapata Silva, 2006). Thus, autonomy is based on a process of decolonisation that involves recovering

and making visible collective historical memory, as well as the inclusion of Mapuche *Kimün* (knowledge) and notions such as *küme felen* (wellbeing, balance), *ixofil mongen* (non-anthropocentric relations with nature) and *kizungünewal* (self-government, autonomy) (Chihuailaf, 1999; Marimán, 2002a; Marimán and Aylwin, 2008; Tricot, 2009). It encompasses acknowledging a different approach to politics, territory, culture, spirituality and economy from modernity that, while not rejecting it, aim for non-subordinated relations (Currín and Valdés, 2000), in which different knowledges, ways of organisation and worldviews can co-exist (Caniullán, 2003; Caniuqueo, 2003).

For Mapuche organisations, then, autonomy is understood as something built at both institutional and everyday levels (Marimán et al., 2006a). It is close to Escobar's (2010) notions of postdevelopment, post-liberalism and post-statism, in that Mapuche activists and intellectuals have questioned the hegemony of development and the limits of individualism and science, and where the state is no longer seen as the only source of solutions or recognition, and consider self-organisation and self-management ("autogestión") as key to overcoming subordination (Currín and Valdés, 2000; Vergara and Foerster, 2002). Therefore, although Mapuche notions of autonomy, history and self-representation are said to be marginalised among Chilean intellectuals and politicians (Zapata Silva, 2006), Mapuche, through diverse strategies that range from re-working state institutions to rejecting them altogether, have aimed to build "de facto" autonomies (González and Burguete, 2010). Through them, they aim to open public spheres not subordinated to the formal possibilities of participation, creating symbolic, cultural and institutional spaces of action and encounter with the Chilean state and society (Martínez Neira, 2010).

So far in this chapter, by looking at historical issues, the implementation and contradictions of (neoliberal) multiculturalism in Chile and beyond, as well as indigenous movements' discourses on autonomy and decolonisation, I have provided a comprehensive framework to understand the context in which Trekaleyin is engaged. I will now explore the ways in which this context has shaped Trekaleyin, but also how it is being re-worked through these communities' involvement in tourism. Therefore, I aim to grasp the implications and complexities of Trekaleyin from a more nuanced perspective, and drawing on but also complicating and expanding Hale's notion of neoliberal multiculturalism, in order to contribute to a better understanding of how multiculturalism and autonomy/decolonisation are performed, contested, destabilised, and hybridised.

Tourism, multiculturalism and autonomy: Situating Trekaleyin and its (political) implications

(Neoliberal) multiculturalism and autonomy in Alto Bío-Bío

Both multiculturalism and autonomy have played out in Alto Bío-Bío in contentious ways. Multiculturalism has led to important institutional and policy changes, and under post-dictatorship governments, the arrival of state and non-governmental institutions, along with funds and programmes such as Programa Orígenes, sharply increased and became permanent. Bicultural educational and health facilities have been established or improved in the area, including the opening of the first high school (“liceo”), which offers a specialisation in tourism (see Figure 9). Likewise, CONADI established an “oficina enlace” (liaison office) in 1997 in the town of Ralco, mainly to support with funding applications and administrative tasks, but also to deal with the purchase of land and water rights, which according to a staff member’s interview, despite some positive outcomes, is still unsatisfactory.



Figure 9. Alto Bío-Bío highschool (liceo)

Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

The controversial construction of the Ralco hydroelectric dam, together with highlighting the limitations of indigenous rights contemplated in Chilean multiculturalism, has led to changes in governance in the area. In 1997, in the midst of demonstrations against Ralco, the “Area de Desarrollo Indígena Alto Bío-Bío” (ADI Alto Bío-Bío) was created, being among the three first ADIs established in Chile (Molina et al., 1998). Despite promises of community participation through a “Comité

Consultivo” (Advisory Committee), this never became operational. Later in 2004, Alto Bío-Bío was declared a “comuna”, separating it from Santa Bárbara of which it was previously a part of. Despite communities’ demands over the establishment of a “municipalidad” since the 1980s, this was finally achieved when, as part of the negotiations around Ralco dam, an agreement was signed in 2003 in Washington DC at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, involving the Chilean state and the last community members opposing it (including the Quintremán sisters) (Norero, 2007). Since then, Félix Vita Manquepi, a Pewenche from Butalelbún (Queuco valley), militant of the Partido Por la Democracia (PPD, part of the Concertación), has been elected as “alcalde” (mayor) twice (see figure 10).



Figure 10. Alto Bío-Bío Municipalidad
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

Despite the initial excitement among community members for the creation of the “comuna”, during fieldwork I realised that most people were highly critical of its outcomes. They mainly criticised the lack of spaces for real participation, the continued disregard for traditional leaders, and the “alcalde” involvement in partisan politics in detriment of indigenous demands. Also, some community members commented that, together with “losing his identity and roots”, Félix Vita has been instrumental in the presence of intelligence services in the area to infiltrate and disarticulate more radical sectors of the communities. Therefore, the Municipalidad has come to be seen as just another mechanism of state intervention and control, as Pedro, a young community leader, said at an interview:

El tema de la creación de la comuna es como un instrumento más de división en las comunidades y de desautorización de los dirigentes, de los *lonkos* de las comunidades, porque el alcalde con la estructura comunal funciona en forma vertical, desde arriba hacia abajo. Entonces si no se obedece lo que el municipio dice, bueno, el resto no participa en el proceso, no participan los dirigentes ... El alcalde es un objeto, un instrumento digamos para esto, para desautorizar a los dirigentes, a los *lonkos*, desvalorizar la cultura, para que su negocio político sea más fácil, para la intervención del Alto Bío-Bío por el gobierno. En el fondo es como una manera de poder intervenir más directamente.

The issue of the creation of the comuna is like another instrument of division in the communities and of disavowal of the leaders, of the communities' *lonkos*, because the alcalde works with a vertical structure, with a top-down approach. So if what the municipality says is not obeyed, well, the rest do not participate in the process, the leaders do not participate ... The alcalde is an object, a tool for this, to overrule the leaders, the *lonkos*, to degrade the culture, so that their political business is easier, for government intervention of Alto Bío-Bío. Basically it is a way to intervene more directly.

(21 April 2009)

Although Ralco dam directly affected only communities in the Bío Bío, as Rosa Norero (2007) suggests, forced intervention and the outrageous transgression of the Pewenche communities fuelled the resurgence of identity discourses and demands for territorial control and self-determination in the entire area, including the increased influence of some of the more radical Mapuche national organisations, such as the Consejo de Todas las Tierras and the Coordinadora Arauco Malleco. In the Queuco valley, between 1999 and 2002 de facto land recuperations led to the restitution of part of the ancestral lands to the communities of Butalelbún, Trapa Trapa, Malla Malla, and Cauñicú, some of which have since then been legally transferred to the communities by CONADI. These events that involved violence, deaths and repression, have left a deep mark in the communities and very complex relationships with the state until today. They include the death in 2002 of Agustina y José Pavián, linked to the Consejo de Todas las Tierras in Cauñicú, under confusing circumstances that led to the conviction of 16 civilians in 2010, including some community members (see Vilugrón, 2010). Others involved in these demands have been sentenced to jail, among them Raúl Millaleo who I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, while others have moved to Argentina as political refugees.

Also during this time, and as a part of the communities' efforts for self-organisation, self-government and autonomy, the Asociación de Lonkos (Lonkos' Association) was created. The Asociación was comprised by *lonkos*, *kimche* (elders or "wise ones") and other leaders and community members, and aimed to be a space for collective discussion and actions. Over time, the Asociación started to get involved in different initiatives, including tourism in what were the beginnings of Trekaleyn. Due to accusations of being linked to radical Mapuche organisations, the tensions between the state (including the Municipalidad) and the Asociación escalated, and eventually led to its disarticulation in 2006 after its leaders received direct threats that were formally reported to police.

Beyond the "indio permitido" and the "indio insurrecto": Tourism and the "indio imposible"

This combination of multiculturalism (involving welfare policies, criminalisation and state and corporate intervention) with Pewenche demands for autonomy and territorial control, have led to a complex and highly politicised situation in Alto Bío-Bío. Here, it is evident that the tension between Hale's notion of the "indio permitido", representing the Pewenche "authorised version" promoted by state development projects and forms of participation, and the "indio insurrecto" or the critical sectors of the communities who, distrusting and questioning interventions and the logics behind them, have been repressed. However, in Alto Bío-Bío, as in most places, there are also various degrees of "in betweenness" among both stereotypes.

Tourism is a good example of this tension, as well as of its more hybrid possibilities. On the one hand, since 1995 tourism has been promoted in indigenous communities in Chile by state agencies and NGOs as a way to increase the participation of historically marginalised sectors into the market economy, development and modernisation, through the commodification of their identities and culture (Hernández, 2001; Pilquimán and Skewes, 2009; 2010). This process has also shaped Chilean identity, and has involved a mixture of exoticism and neo-colonialism (Canihuante, 2005; for other cases see Bushel and Salazar, 2009; Guala and Szmulewics, 2007; Martin, 2007; Morales, 2006; Programa Orígenes, 2003). Thus, tourism can be seen as another instrument to foster the "indio permitido", promoting neoliberal values around entrepreneurship and self-help, in which indigenous culture can be "capitalised" and valued as a "resource" and a competitive advantage, while excluding autonomy, territorial and political demands.

In Alto Bío-Bío, tourism has been on state and NGO agendas since the studies for the creation of the ADI. In fact, in 1999 in the heat of the conflicts over Ralco and land claims, the first tourism project in the Queuco valley was funded by CONADI-Orígenes, with the participation of World Vision. The project aimed to provide a source of income for the communities drawing on their “resources” of scenic beauty and culture. However, Programa Orígenes (2003) itself later acknowledged that Pewenche culture was considered in a very superficial way by only developing booklets about Pewenche culture and how to keep tourists entertained. Later in 2000 and 2001, a project to improve camping sites facilities in Cauñicú and Pitril was funded by the Fondo de las Américas, involving SERNATUR and CONADI. These communities were chosen explicitly because “there were no problems within them related to the construction of Ralco dam” (Programa Orígenes, 2003 p. 40, my translation). Since then, a number of tourism projects have taken place in the area, most of them sharing an approach that incorporates Pewenche culture as an “addition” to an attractive natural landscape, while decontextualising, depoliticising and silencing conflicts and autonomy discourses among the communities. This approach can also be found in plans and reports that deal with tourism, such as both the Municipality Development Plan (PLADECO) and Tourism Plan (PLADETUR) (Ilustre Municipalidad de Alto Bío Bío, 2006; 2007), as well as the study “Pewenche Culture and Nature” (Fundación Impulsa, 2007), and diverse websites such as the one from SERNATUR Bío Bío (SERNATUR Región del Bío Bío, n. d.).

While interviewing local authorities, staff and community members that favoured this approach to tourism, it became apparent that they also often shared the aspiration to transform Alto Bío-Bío into a mass tourism destination, competing with important tourist centres in southern Chile to generate large revenues. As this quote from a Municipalidad staff member shows, their emphasis is on the economic benefits of tourism, and on the need of infrastructure and increased business mentality and skills among the communities:

Estamos interesados en la apertura del paso Pucón-Mawida, que es un paso que nos va a permitir una cobertura internacional para el desarrollo del turismo. Ahí tenemos prácticamente más de 30 mil, 40 mil turistas potenciales que no son solamente argentinos sino que también europeos, que vengan en la época de verano, participen del Festival de la Canción, aprovechen las termas, la belleza del lugar, para lo que igual hay que desarrollar infraestructura turística. ... Pero hay que enseñarle más a la gente también, dotarlos de agua potable y enseñarles cómo se hace la iniciación de actividades ... Meterlos en el mundo empresarial al fin y al cabo, para que las familias tengan un

desarrollo económico. Pero la gente acá tiene baja cultura emprendedora y empresarial, yo los conozco. Además también es complicado, porque hay que saber tratar a la gente, son delicados los clientes y lamentablemente la gente de comunidades no son muy amables. Por eso es que tienen que aprender a tratarlos, porque acá la gente es pesada, son tímidos o muy parcos.

We are interested in opening the Pucón-Mawida mountain pass, a pass that will allow us to have international coverage for the development of tourism. We have more than 30,000, 40,000 potential tourists who are not only Argentinean but also Europeans, who can come during summer, participate in the Music Festival, enjoy the hot springs, the beauty of the place, but for that it is also necessary to develop touristic infrastructure ... But also the people must be taught, we need to give them potable water and teach them how to formalise businesses ... Incorporate them into the corporate world after all, so families can have economic development. But people here have low entrepreneurial and business culture, I know them. Furthermore, it is complicated because you need to know how to treat people, customers are sensitive and unfortunately the people from the communities are not very friendly. That is why they need to learn to treat them properly, because here people are unfriendly, shy or too serious.

(2 April 2009)

This approach to tourism, as Escobar (1995) has suggested, is common among development discourses, in that it highlights what community members “lack” to engage in tourism. It overlooks the fact that some of them have been successfully working on it for over 20 years, and makes collective initiatives that are thriving and expanding invisible, such as Trekaleyn. It also subordinates the knowledge and abilities of community members to expert knowledge. Thus they call for the transformation of elements deemed as “undesirable”, presenting “entrepreneurial culture” in very limited and ethnocentric terms. In fact, these are some of the key elements that people critical of tourism question in Alto Bío-Bío, considering it as another tool for the co-optation and colonisation of communities. During my stay in Alto Bío-Bío, this view was sustained by a range of community members and staff from different institutions. They tended to understand tourism as a way to manipulate the communities and to facilitate the benefit of outside interests, stimulating the loss of Pewenche culture and identifying those involved in tourism as “selling out” their culture and autonomy, sometimes derogatorily calling them “maputuristas”. Therefore, as an NGO worker said at a meeting in Ralco, tourism debilitates what should be more important for the Pewenche, which is

the defence of their rights and self-determination, understanding these elements also in limited and dichotomous ways.

However, engagement with tourism can be also enacted in other ways. Similarly to the complex and intertwined ways in which elements of the “indio permitido” and “indio insurrecto” influence the identities of Mapuche workers (Park and Richards, 2007), tourism has been articulated in Alto Bío-Bío in ways that move beyond this binary, combining aims to improve the material conditions of the communities by taking advantage of the available funds and programmes, while at the same time strengthening and expanding Pewenche autonomy and demands. Trekaleyin, through the continued participation of leaders and activists involved in the Asociación de Lonkos, land claims and other events, and the explicit use of tourism to defend their territorial and political rights, demonstrates that both ideas of the “indigenous” can be woven together and hybridised, while also reworking their relations with the market, governmental and non-governmental institutions, tourists and society.

As Richards (2010 p. 72) suggests, welfare and autonomic stances can be articulated by combining participation in state programmes with the support of politicised demands for self-governance, although those who engage in these kinds of strategies “walk a fine line between acceptance and marginalisation”. Therefore, members of Trekaleyin are having to deal with the extremely difficult balance of engaging with the state without allowing the dilution of the content of their demands, thus encountering the paradox of Castillo’s (2006 p. 49) “indio imposible” (impossible Indian), who “neither autonomous nor permitted” has to deal with this tension in contradictory ways. Therefore, as will be explored next, addressing these conflicts through their engagement with tourism, for members of Trekaleyin the construction of their autonomy is, as for the majority of the Mapuche movement, about constantly building de facto self-organisation and non-subordinated spaces for co-existence and participation (Currín and Valdés, 2000; Marimán et al., 2006a).

Trekaleyin and the (re)making of multiculturalism and autonomy

In Alto Bío-Bío, general distrust of state institutions co-exists with a strong dependency on its welfare policies and rampant clientelism. According to some, this has led to generalised feelings of powerlessness and failure among community members (González-Parra and Simon, 2008). However, other responses have also been developed, that cannot be properly understood through Hale’s binary

of the “indio permitido” and the “indio insurrecto”. They involve imbricated, hybrid strategies. Among these strategies is Trekaleyin, a tourism organisation that resulted in part from multiculturalist state programmes and in part from communities’ autonomy demands and organisations, such as the Asociación de Lonkos. The Asociación was mainly a political and cultural organisation, but it became involved in tourism when in 2005 it directly supported the idea of developing a tourism network in the Queuco valley. They saw in the incipient tourism in the area an opportunity to improve the economic situation of the communities, but also to reinforce and reclaim territorial control over recently recovered or still disputed lands and resources, revitalise Pewenche culture, promote self-organisation and control their representation as Mapuche-Pewenche, as well as to tell their version of history.

But the Asociación’s support for tourism was also fuelled by at least two other factors. One was the fact that tourism was already taking place among the communities, and although there were critical voices, in general there was a positive attitude towards small scale, Pewenche-owned and controlled forms of tourism. They are seen as a source of much needed income, not interfering with other activities, and as a great opportunity to socialise, meet new people and have fun in ways that facilitate community members’ protagonism. Most of the camping sites operating in the Queuco valley began around twenty years ago, when road improvements and the end of the dictatorship brought the first tourists to the valley, who were mainly looking for places to camp. Ñaña¹³ Rocío, the owner of one of the first camping sites in the area, remembered that at the beginning she welcomed these people as she wanted to help them, and didn’t think of charging any money. She was happy as she and her family were invited for meals and parties with the visitors, and because they were given donations in the form of food or clothes. She also mentioned that although she always kept an eye on the visitors, some in the community criticised her for receiving *winkas* who were seen as a potential danger, while others became jealous of her. Some of these visitors came back regularly, developing friendships that sometimes have lasted until today and becoming part of Ñaña Rocío “extended family” as she says. Over time these regular visitors supported her to formalise the camping site, and to set prices and develop services that included selling “tortillas” (bread baked buried in ashes), visits to hot springs and sporadic horseback riding trips to the mountains (see figures 11 and 12).

¹³ Ñaña is a *Mapudungún* title of affection and respect for a woman who is usually older or who could be a grandmother.



Figure 11. Camping site in the Queuco valley
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha



Figure 12. Making tortilla
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

The second factor that promoted the support of tourism by the Asociación de Lonkos was the arrival of NGOs and staff sympathetic to autonomy demands and committed to more meaningful participation. In 2004 SEPADE, a Christian national NGO, started *We Kintún*, a project that aimed to explore the receptivity of tourism in the valley and to create a participatory tourism strategy. *We Kintún* was involved in the organisation of meetings within and between communities, and therefore was key in the development of a network of people interested in tourism, as well as in discussing its development at community and valley level rather than individually. Later in 2005 other NGOs, such as Servicio País and World Vision, joined SEPADE in the continuation of *We Kintún* and the implementation of small tourism projects. That was also when I first became involved in this initiative. As the regional manager of Sendero de Chile, I was invited in 2005 by friends and former colleagues to meet and support this incipient tourism network of the Queuco valley. Since then Sendero de Chile has remained as the only state institution closely supporting Trekaleyin, with a current Regional Manager strongly committed to the communities' interests, and raising the profile of Trekaleyin.

When the Asociación de Lonkos dissolved in 2006, the network of community members, activists and leaders (including Raúl Millaleo and Ñaña Rocío) engagement in tourism continued and was transformed into what is now Trekaleyin, under the legal definition of indigenous association. Since then they have focused on the development of a network of tourism services based on horseback riding trips to the mountains. Trekaleyin has slowly consolidated with the continued support of the NGOs (mainly SEPADE and Servicio País) and Sendero de Chile, as well as through a range of strategic alliances with national and international organisations and sources of funding. Thus, for community members Trekaleyin, despite being interpreted from different perspectives, is in general seen as the result of their own agency, effort and choices. Influenced and supported by the unplanned arrival of the first tourists, the relationships they developed with them, as well as the support from some institutions, Trekaleyin is seen as a continuation of their long and broader struggle for a better life and increased self-determination, as Verónica, a young member of Trekaleyin expressed:

Nació solo el Trekaleyin. El Trekaleyin es una necesidad de la gente no más y eso es lo importante. No es una cosa que viene de afuera, no son cosas que se vengán a imponer, sino que nació de acá, de la gente de acá. Y es una demostración de que nosotros podemos, que sabemos, que no somos ignorantes, y que a pesar de todas las dificultades

que podamos haber tenido igual se pueden hacer cosas, con o sin el apoyo de la Municipalidad ... En el fondo lo que nosotros estamos buscando es poder desarrollarnos mejor pero han habido dificultades, porque la Municipalidad no promociona lo que hacemos sino que tenemos que hacerlo a través de otros proyectos, y eso igual es fome porque a la Municipalidad llega mucha plata en lo que es el departamento de turismo y ni siquiera nos apoyan para propaganda ... No hay llegada, o sea, Trekaleyin no tiene buena llegada con el municipio, por lo tanto yo no voy, porque no hay a qué ir. Si a Trekaleyin no lo toman en cuenta ¿qué va a ir a hacer uno allá? ... Y es porque la Municipalidad, en este caso el Félix Vita, lo único que cree es que él tiene la decisión y tiene el poder. Él no cree que las otras personas somos capaces también, él no cree que Trekaleyin es capaz de hacer esto que estamos haciendo hoy día. Él siempre ha querido tener el poder y tomar decisiones, y en este caso le salió al revés porque no siempre uno va a depender de la Municipalidad. Y es por esa razón que hoy día el municipio no nos apoya, porque nosotros estamos viendo las cosas de otra forma, para crecer, no para que nos den, porque también somos capaces .

... En Trekaleyin tratamos de ser autónomos, Trekaleyin no depende de la Municipalidad, si bien hay otras instituciones detrás de ella pero no la Municipalidad. Por eso en la parte del asistencialismo y de una intervención como impuesta desde afuera Trekaleyin también marca una diferencia, porque demuestra que se puede solo. Somos una organización que tiene muy claro para dónde vamos, y por esa razón se trabaja con pura gente de la zona y eso es importante. No trabajo para una empresa privada, no trabajo para ningún... no trabajo para ENDESA ni para Matte¹⁴, sino que trabajo para las comunidades, cosa que a mí me gusta, porque las comunidades en sí son las que ofrecen sus servicios y son ellas las que llevan esta revisión. Y por esa razón estoy en Trekaleyin, porque demostramos nuestras capacidades y también se pueden cambiar los prejuicios negativos, para que igual nos conozcan y respeten. Porque para mucha gente nosotros somos conflictivos, somos terroristas, en las noticias los periodistas muchas veces se afanan en taparnos con cosas negativas, pero no es así, y las veces que pasan estas cosas pasan por defender los propios derechos no más, y porque le molesta al gobierno en este caso. Por eso bien, me gusta Trekaleyin.

¹⁴ Eliodoro Matte is a Chilean entrepreneur that owns a large property close to Alto Bío-Bío, is member of one of the richest families in the country, and has business in the energy and forestry sectors with interests in Alto Bío-Bío.

Trekaleyin originated by itself. Trekaleyin is just a need of our people and that is what matters. It is not something that comes from outside, it is not something imposed, but it originated from here, from the people from here. And it is a demonstration that we can, that we know, that we are not ignorant, and that despite all the difficulties we have had, things can still be done, with or without the support of the Municipalidad. Basically what we're looking for is better development for ourselves but there have been difficulties, as the Municipalidad does not promote what we do, so we have to do it through other projects, and that is bad because a lot of money reaches the Municipalidad in what is the department of tourism but they do not support us even for advertising ... There are no good relations, I mean Trekaleyin is not on good terms with the Municipalidad, therefore I don't go there, because there is no reason to go. If Trekaleyin is not taken into account, what would one be doing there? ... and that's because the Municipalidad, in this case Félix Vita, the only thing he believes is that he has the decision and has the power. He does not believe that other people are also capable, he does not believe Trekaleyin is able to do what we are doing today. He always wanted the power and to make decisions, and in this case it backfired because one not always will depend on the Municipalidad. And for that reason today the Municipality does not support us, because we are seeing things differently, to grow, not to be given, because we are capable

... In Trekaleyin we try to be autonomous, Trekaleyin does not depend on the Municipality, although there are other institutions behind it but not the Municipality. So in regards to welfarism and intervention as imposed from outside Trekaleyin also makes a difference, because it shows that we can work on our own. We are an organisation that is very clear about our goals and that is why we work only with local people, and that's important. I do not work for a private company, do not work for any... I do not work for ENDESA or Matte (see footnote 14 in previous page), but I work for the communities, which I like because with Trekaleyin the communities themselves are offering their services, and they are the ones that control and evaluate it. And for that reason I am in Trekaleyin, because we demonstrate our capabilities and can also change negative prejudices, for others to know and respect us. Because for many people we are conflictive, we are terrorists, news reporters often strive to cover us with negative things, but it is not like that, and in the occasions in which these things happen it is just

to defend our own rights, and because it upsets the government. So it's good, I like Trekaleyin.

(28 March 2009)

This statement contrasts sharply with the approach to tourism of the Municipalidad staff member presented before. In the view of Verónica, which very effectively condenses the thought of other members and leaders, the agency, capabilities and knowledges of community members are key. It acknowledges that things have not been easy, and that institutions have been instrumental for the success of Trekaleyin, but it brings to the centre the communities and their abilities, disrupting and challenging their subordinated, disempowering and “lacking” position. Also, control and empowerment are emphasised and contrasted to welfare and paternalist logics and practices, which they question and contest. So, without disregarding alliances with state and non-state institutions, programmes and funds, it is the type of relationships that are central for Trekaleyin. According to this perspective, not being taken into account, not being acknowledged as capable and pro-active is serious and damaging, and in facing this, Trekaleyin has refused to comply with the disempowering role of mere state beneficiaries. But this position has not led to confronting or trying to “take power” from the Municipalidad either. Instead, it is very interesting to note the understanding of power as dispersed that Verónica articulates, as opposed to something concentrated that can be “possessed” (see Allen, 2004). Therefore, in this quote community members and organisations are seen as also able to exercise power for their own purposes, based on self-organisation and constructing spaces for more balanced relations with others. Therefore, although also involving tensions and constant negotiation, in very pragmatic and sophisticated ways members of Trekaleyin are engaging with tourism while creating alliances with the state and other institutions, receiving funds and participating in programmes, without fully complying with the idea of the “indio permitido”, and at the same time maintaining their defence of elements associated to the “indio insurrecto”, such as autonomy, land, and rights.

Challenging, hybridising and complementing elements of the “indio permitido” and the “indio insurrecto”, and dealing with the contradictions of the “indio imposible”, Trekaleyin has received support from some institutions and actors, while also being marginalised by others that see it too closely linked to radical Mapuche sectors and discourses. This has also affected the NGOs that work closely with Trekaleyin, who have been side-lined as well. As Verónica suggests, the marginalisation of Trekaleyin has meant less access to financial and practical support, invisibility in the Municipalidad tourism advertisement, and the open discrediting of the work of Trekaleyin, as

was mentioned at an interview with the person in charge of the department of tourism in the Municipalidad. He said:

Encargado: Hay comunidades que no están en condiciones de trabajar con turismo. Hay comunidades que son conflictivas y han pasado cosas ¿tú las has escuchado?

Marcela: Algunas cosas...

Encargado: Porque hay conflictos, por ejemplo en Trapa y Butalelbún hay gente que quiere trabajar en turismo y otros no. El problema es que a algunos turistas los han echado y hecho problemas y después salen hablando mal de la comuna, no de la comunidad en particular. A esas dos comunidades no las incluimos en la propaganda de turismo por eso mismo. Nosotros como Muni vamos al valle del Bío Bío y hasta Cauñicú por el Queuco no más.

Staff: Some communities are not able to work on tourism. There are communities that are conflictive and things have happened, have you heard of them?

Marcela: Some things...

Staff: Because there are conflicts, for example in Trapa and Butalelbún there are people who want to work on tourism and others who don't. The problem is that they have sent tourists away or bothered them and then they say bad things about the comuna, not just of the particular community. That's why we don't include those communities in our publicity about tourism. We as Municipalidad go to the Bío Bío valley and in the Queuco valley only as far as Cauñicú.

(1 April 2009)

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the historical and political context in which Trekaleyin operates. This context involves processes, actors and ideas of different trajectories and reach, which together weave a fabric that links local, national and transnational elements. In the last decades this “fabric” has been marked by neoliberalism, multiculturalism and growing indigenous mobilisations for autonomy and decolonisation. I have explored how these elements have shaped Trekaleyin and its practices and discourses, but I have also sought to demonstrate how members of Trekaleyin have actively and consciously reworked, hybridised and destabilised them, and in the process have

redefined their role and capabilities, the scope of their work, and transformed the relationships with other actors and institutions

From a particular ethnographic site, I have aimed to highlight the sophisticated ways in which members of Trekaleyin are rethinking agency and politics, and how they are appropriating and reworking neoliberal ideas of self-governance, participation, self-help and decentralisation to assert their ability to think, resist, create and transform their own experiences and possibilities. In doing so, they are also re-working neoliberalism and multiculturalism (including the “indio permitido/indio insurrecto” binary), destabilising their alleged monolithic nature, making visible and expanding the possibilities for change. Thus, they are building and strengthening their autonomy and influence, allowing them to negotiate in new terms with the state and other institutions, as well as to break with their status of mere clients or recipients of welfare policies.

Dissatisfied with the conventional spaces of politics, through Trekaleyin but certainly beyond it too, community members are building an alternative, non-statist space to exercise power and decide their own issues. They are going beyond the state as they have acknowledged that it is not necessarily suitable to develop emancipatory social relations, and are thus engaged in efforts of self-organisation that aim to “diffuse” power (Zibechi, 2006). Therefore, Trekaleyin is not an organisation that aims to seize power in conventional terms, but rather through their involvement in tourism and an understanding of power as dispersed, community members are deploying strategies for reorganising the ways in which relations are built in order to expand their self-determination. By working at valley level, they are moving beyond individualistic assumptions of neoliberalism, and enacting collective forms of ownership and rights downplayed by multiculturalism, thus de facto reactivating other forms of territorial organisation informed by traditional practices and political agendas.

Crafting hybrid spaces and identities, and based on their capabilities, knowledges and agency, they are setting into motion modern and communitarian, non-modern social relations and forms of organisation. From here they are rethinking and acting on development, in a process similar to what has been called “indigenising development” (Ramos et al., 2009), which has involved a move towards the decolonial and the challenge to modern ways of thinking and governing. This process involves both a critique and radicalisation of multiculturalism and of the ways of understanding how to incorporate indigenous peoples, knowledges and rights in development and tourism. It has involved an effort to decolonise, question and remake ideas about development, culture, space, and politics, bringing to the fore and challenging the often neglected power relations that are at play in

the encounter between indigenous knowledges and ontologies with Western, expert knowledge (Briggs and Sharp, 2004). Tourism development for Trekaleyin has meant not just the incorporation of some of their current economic practices or ideas towards dominant views of development. Instead, it involves the consideration of the fabric of histories, knowledges and relationships that provide a direction, and meaning, and sustain their struggle for self-determination and autonomy. In that sense Trekaleyin, as Escobar (2010) has suggested, is not only struggling for pragmatic objects, but also creating new imaginaries and ideas of how to reassemble the social and the political.

Of course this has been a complex process involving many tensions and challenges. In addition the opposition of other groups of the society and institutions, the development of Trekaleyin is posing many paradoxes for the very own communities who have to deal with many uncertainties and contradictions. It has not been an a priori planned and tidy process, but is more the result of particular histories, circumstances and networks in Alto Bío-Bío and beyond, constructed through practice, self-awareness and reflection. It has therefore required a lot of collective discussion, creativity, courage, patience and time. But despite its difficulties, unpredictability and contingency, and just as Verónica pointed out, it is important to highlight the ways in which they are consciously seeking to exercise and expand their autonomy and agency, rejecting being passive or depoliticised victims of neoliberalism, and building upon their abilities, knowledges, demands, and histories. Understanding Trekaleyin and their context in these terms is also important when exploring the ways in which tourism is providing a means of rearticulating the communities' economies, which I am going to explore in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITIES, TOURISM AND THE DIVERSE, SOCIAL AND SOLIDARITY ECONOMIES OF ALTO BÍO-BÍO

Introduction

After visiting Trekaleyin in December 2010, Jacqueline van Rysselberghe, then the intendenda¹⁵ of the Bío Bío region, gave an interview to a newspaper in which she mentioned the possibilities Trekaleyin is opening for the economy and development of Alto Bío-Bío. She said:

I found this a wonderful experience and we have to motivate people to visit Alto Bío-Bío and know the landscape and culture. One might think they are from another country, yet we have them here, very close. (Comunidades pehuenches ofrecen nueva alternativa turística, 2010 p. 295)

Her declaration is noteworthy because of the way in which she refers to the communities of Alto Bío-Bío in her attempt to support the development of tourism in the area. Stressing their attractiveness as a way of encouraging their economic development, she refers to the Pewenche communities and their culture as strange, alien, like “from another country”, but that is also something wonderful that “we” (Chileans?) have, and that is in fact very close to “us”. This comment resonates with the statement of Rigoberta Menchú, the indigenous Guatemalan Nobel Peace Prize laureate, who criticising tourism declared that “our costumes are considered beautiful, but it’s as if the person wearing it didn’t exist” (quoted in Mowforth and Munt, 1998 p. 248). Tourism, it seems, can emphasise indigenous peoples’ difference and “otherness”, and transform them into something exotic to be enjoyed as part of the scenery, which Martin Mowforth and Ian Munt (1998) have called the “zoofication” of tribal peoples through tourism.

The touristic and commercial potential of this “difference”, understood as a “comparative advantage”, is certainly one of the ways in which post-dictatorship Chilean governments, through

¹⁵ Intendente/a is the highest authority in each of the 15 regions in Chile.

their neoliberal multicultural approach, have “authorised” and included Mapuche culture into development and economic policies. Pablo Marimán (2002b) suggests that they have attempted to relate and give recognition to manifestations of the Mapuche culture, but only by framing it as traditions and customs, while casting-off the very people who have created and bear this culture, and their (collective) rights and voices. Together with reinforcing colonialist and paternalist patterns, this approach tends to overlook a whole range of conflicts and questions these policies and projects open, while framing and limiting the possibilities and ways of engagement in development of indigenous peoples. Moreover, these approaches assume that economic development, including tourism, as a matter of incorporating and bringing indigenous people into line with an economic order that is so self-evident and seemingly inevitable, that it cannot even be discussed.

However, working with Trekaleyin it became evident that dealing with tourism, economic enhancement and development in indigenous communities was not so simple, and that it involves multiple dynamics and elements. If examined with enough attention and openness, it is possible to realise that it actually constitutes a complex process, a fabric where diverse values, knowledges, practices and ontologies are interwoven, which demonstrates the existence of other ways to understand and “do” economy and development. But in general, studies of tourism fail to acknowledge these complexities and tend to understand its economic implications in more limited ways. Tourism is a growing industry, which in the context of the current development focus on poverty alleviation has become to be seen as an important alternative for the promotion of economic growth, income, employment and foreign exchange earnings to deprived areas and communities (Hall and Page, 2009; Harrison, 2008; Sharpley, 2002; Telfer, 2002; 2009). Recent research on tourism among indigenous peoples, however, has stressed the ways in which tourism, as an economic activity, becomes also informed by cultural elements and values, transforming it into what Alexis Bunten (2010) has called “indigenous capitalism through tourism”.

But the fact that the economy itself, and not only among indigenous peoples, is actually embedded in broader contexts and cultural elements, has been an important topic of investigation since the “cultural turn” among geographers and in other disciplines. It has encouraged questioning understandings of the economy as a distinctive and compartmentalised sphere that functions according to “objective” and systematic rules. Therefore, researchers have increasingly acknowledged and explored economy as a cultural product, not only because it influences or is influenced by “cultural” elements, but because it is intrinsically shaped by numerous elements that are beyond what is conventionally considered the economy, and which are usually erased from economic

discourses (Amin and Thrift, 2004). This approach, called “cultural economy”, has aimed to “rework the economy as a cultural artifact” (Amin and Thrift, 2004 p. xii), by emphasising the great variety of actors involved in its constitution, including humans and non-humans. It understands the economy as the result of the mix of hybrid inputs for different goals, that include money, knowledges, things, technologies, norms, buildings, power, passions and people among others. All these diverse elements are constituent parts of the economic, and question the hierarchical distinction between what has traditionally been considered the macro and micro economic realms (Amin and Thrift, 2007).

In this chapter, by focusing on the communities’ engagement with tourism, I will investigate the ways in which a wide range of practices, knowledges, and values influence the current economic arrangements of the communities involved in Trekaleyin. Also, I will look at how tourism is being articulated with these arrangements and their understandings of wellbeing and relations between humans and more-than-human beings. To do so, I draw on J. K. Gibson-Graham’s (2006) ideas of diverse economies, as well as on current debates in Latin America about “economía social y solidaria” (social and solidarity economies)¹⁶ and the decolonisation of development and economic thinking (Coraggio, 2009; Hinkelammert and Mora Jiménez, 2009 among others). By doing so, I aim to demonstrate the intrinsic links that the economy has with multiple other dimensions and elements, acknowledging practices, knowledges and actors usually invisible in most economic discourses. Also, understanding the economy as performed everyday in material and symbolic ways, I seek to challenge universal and simplistic versions of the economic.

This research aims to address the call to study, from the context of the Third World and with a postcolonial approach, the configuration of “cultural economies” of indigenous knowledges, non-Western ethics and orders, and non or alternative markets exchange networks (Amin and Thrift, 2004 p. xxii). It also seeks to contribute to the need to examine through specific cases the workings and constitution of diverse and solidarity economies (Coraggio, 2008; Coteria, 2008; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Villarreal, 2008). And finally, this chapter intends to provide more sophisticated insights into the implications of tourism for the economy and development. Doing so is particularly important owing to the current prominence of tourism as a tool for development and poverty alleviation, but also because among tourism studies the impacts of the cultural turn (Bianchi, 2009; Gibson, 2008) and the move from descriptive to more reflexive, theoretically sophisticated and politically informed

¹⁶ I use the term in Spanish original following Escobar (2010)

research, has been slower than in other areas of geography and the social sciences (Hannam, 2002; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Nepal, 2009).

Exploring the experience of Trekaleyin taking into account theoretical contributions from Latin American and Mapuche authors not only is an innovative approach in current academic debates. It also provides an opportunity to expand the possibilities to recognise and think about “unthinkable” alternatives to the dominant Western economic and cultural system (Blaser and De la Cadena, 2009). Doing so is key to the “decolonisation” of Mapuche economies, as Marimán et al. (2006a) have asserted. It also challenges dualistic and static notions of tradition and its supposed separation from the modern (Escobar, 2005) by contributing to a better understanding of communities and indigenous economies, and the intertwined nature of the economy with “other” cultural constructions.

Therefore this chapter begins by examining the links between tourism and economic improvement for local and indigenous communities, to later move to a discussion on the notion of community. Then I explore approaches to community economies, and revise in more detail Gibson-Graham’s ideas on community and diverse economies and the current debates in Latin American around *economía social y solidaria*, as well as its implications for development and decolonisation. I then move to explore the experience of Trekaleyin from these theoretical perspectives, by first addressing issues of production, transactions and labour and second examining the role of Mapuche-Pewenche ontologies or ways of being and knowing, in the economy and Trekaleyin. Finally I give an overview of the implications of exploring the economy in these ways.

Tourism, development and communities

Tourism, the world’s largest industry, has grown steadily in particular in the Third World (Scheyvens, 2007). But tourism continues to be an unequal activity where European and North American countries dominate the numbers of tourists travelling and receive most of its revenues (Harrison, 2001). Although this imbalance has remained, recently areas such as the Middle East, Africa, Asia and the Pacific have shown the fastest rates of growth in tourism arrivals (Scheyvens, 2011). But despite its unevenness and its debated contribution to poverty alleviation at national or international levels, it has been acknowledged that the impacts of tourism can be very important at local levels (Mowforth et al., 2008).

Tourism was first identified as an opportunity for development and poverty alleviation during the 1960s as a result of the influence of modernist approaches (Brown and Hall, 2008), and since then different views of development and the economy have continuously shaped the ways in which tourism is approached (Palomino-Schalscha, in press). Critical and dependency theories, still one of the most common approaches in the study of tourism, were the first to thoroughly question tourism in the Third World. They tend to see tourism as a neo-colonial and exploitative activity that strengthens the vulnerability and dependency of Third World countries and communities, through which they are drawn into the globalised economy and subordinated to the interests and control of Western tourists and companies (Clancy, 1999; De Kadt, 1979; Dieke, 2000; Pleumaron, 1994). Among geographers, Stephen Britton (1991) was key in highlighting the extent to which tourism reproduces and reinforces inequalities, while others have emphasised that its unequal power relations can reinforce racism and class marginalisation (Munt, 1994). In recent decades, alternative development perspectives have had a major impact on tourism studies, and have influenced the emergence of “alternative tourism”, which intends to differentiate itself from mainstream models by declaring itself to be more responsible, ethical and sustainable, and aiming to benefit impoverished and marginalised communities directly. Although it has adopted many forms, alternative tourism generally tends to “support forms of tourism which are small scale, minimise environmental and cultural interference, and which prioritise community needs, community involvement and community interests” (Scheyvens, 2002 p. 11). The focus around the participation and empowerment of local communities, however, has also been increasingly adopted by neoliberal and top-down institutions (Scheyvens, 2002). The “poverty consensus” and the Millennium Development Goals have mainstreamed the concern for the inclusion and benefit of local and poor communities in tourism, a process that has become a key focus for researchers, development agencies (such as the World Bank and the IMF), NGOs and governments (Mowforth et al., 2008; Harrison, 2008; Goodwin, 2008). For instance, the World Bank has funded tourism projects for poverty alleviation, sustainability and cultural preservation around the world since the 1990s. However, and despite their rhetoric of participation, empowerment and capacity building, these interventions have been widely criticised for maintaining top-down approaches and not challenging the role of neoliberalism in creating inequalities, which resonates with broader criticisms of the poverty consensus (Scheyvens, 2007; Storey et al., 2005).

Poststructuralist approaches have also contributed to the study of tourism by incorporating new elements into these discussions. John Urry’s (1990) influential “tourist gaze” was key in drawing attention to relations of power in tourism, going beyond the economic and including cultural and

social issues, and highlighting how tourism is a powerful way of representing the world, peoples and places. These approaches have tended to disregard the views of tourism as either good or bad in itself, as well as the representations of communities as always united and external investors as always exploitative (Scheyvens, 2007). They question generalisations in regards to tourism and have focused more on the study of processes, places and interactions involved in tourism (Cheong and Miller, 2000), giving special attention to the agency of local communities, as well as to dissenting voices (Scheyvens, 2007).

“Community”, then, has become a controversial term in the studies of tourism and development, and despite being increasingly used, tourism literature has usually failed to acknowledge its conceptual difficulties (Blackstock, 2005). Tourism literature has tended to see communities in reductionist and functionalist terms, (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001), relying on stereotypical ideas that construct them as cohesive and homogenous groups with shared interests (Mowforth et al., 2008; Scheyvens, 2007; Taylor, 1995). This has had at least three important consequences. First, it ignores the power structures within communities, as well as the fact that they are embedded in broader socioeconomic, political and environmental processes (Gibson, 2009; Harper, 1997; Reed, 1997). Second, it neglects the fact that power structures and inequalities can actually be reinforced by tourism and “cosmetic” participation (Taylor, 1995), as elites can co-opt and dominate tourism initiatives for their own benefit (Mowforth et al., 2008; Scheyvens, 2007). And third, it fails to acknowledge the diverse attitudes towards tourism among community members (Taylor, 1995). So, despite the fact that they are unavoidable, issues of power, contestation, consensus and dissonances between competing interests have been poorly conceptualised among studies of tourism (Coles and Church, 2007).

Furthermore, the involvement of indigenous communities in tourism remains particularly controversial. Many studies have demonstrated the negative impacts of tourism on their communities, cultures and territories (Hinch, 2001; Cater, 2007; Petterson and Viken, 2007; Blackstock, 2005), leading some to call it a neo-colonial activity (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Robinson, 2001; Manyara et al., 2006). It has been increasingly recognised, however, that tourism is a multidimensional and contradictory phenomenon, that in cases can contribute to strengthen indigenous communities and their political influence for self-advancement (Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez, 2010; Ryan and Aicken, 2005). Also, it has been suggested that tourism has helped to increase their income, pride, cultural survival, and to build more equitable and just

relationships both within communities and with non-indigenous people (Bunten, 2010; Goodwin, 2007; Butler and Hinch, 2007; Spiller et al., 2010).

Thus, when working with (indigenous) communities and tourism, it is key to take into account the complexity of the networks, power relations and wider and internal processes that conform and influence them (Gibson, 2009), paying special attention to issues of control, distribution, equity and ethics (Scheyvens, 2002). After all, in tourism, as well as in many other respects, indigenous communities are constantly dealing with the delicate balance between assimilation and building self-determination. Therefore, in order to explore the ways in which tourism is being articulated within the communities involved in Trekaleyn, in particular in economic terms, I believe it is crucial to explore first the notion of community in more detail, as well as the particularities of the communities involved in this research.

Examining the complexities of community

Community is a contested concept that can be understood in various ways and from different perspectives. John Silk (1999) asserts that it has been understood as both a notion referring to local place-based communities, as well as spatially dispersed, “stretched-out” communities. Stuart Aitken (2009) suggests that locally based communities are usually associated with their “nurturing meanings” and their role in the construction of people’s identities and mobilisation towards common good. This view, which Silk (1999) calls “communitarian approach”, tends to highlight what communities have in common, and has been the most prevalent among tourism studies. However, according to Silk, poststructuralist perspectives have pointed to the existence of “communities of difference”, or the fact that communities are also problematic entities that involve internal conflicts and factors of difference such as class, gender, ethnicity and sexuality, which generate hierarchies and competing subject positions. Thus communities, rather than being fixed or simple social units, can be better understood as being constantly subjected to contestation, where meanings, identities and loyalties are negotiated.

But acknowledging the need to negotiate and accommodate difference, Nicole Gombay (2010 p. 238) has suggested that both place and the “deeply embedded sense of commitment to the collective and their understanding of interdependence” are important in the construction of communities. For her this sense of connectedness, significantly influenced by emotions, social relationships, morality, obligation, respect and responsibility, is at the centre of communities, and

particularly among indigenous communities, it tends to include also non-humans, something increasingly acknowledged in geography's "relational turn" (Gombay, 2010). In fact, from a post-humanist perspective, for Gibson-Graham and Gerda Roelvink (2009), rather than a model or an essence, community is the relationship of "being in common", of co-existence and interdependence between humans and non-humans that co-constitute the world and community economies.

In Chile, despite legal, historical and political complexities, communities are central for the Mapuche people. They have been acknowledged as the "space of culture" (Bengoa, 1996 p. 370), where, although not free of tensions, the sense of identity and belonging are developed and strengthened, and the social fabric is reworked interweaving ancestors, families, neighbours, emotions, places, values, ceremonies and spiritual beings (Marimán et al., 2006a). It is in the community where social and political leadership is born and enacted (Contreras Painemal, 2007). But communities are also intimately linked to territory and land demands among the Mapuche, as they are the space of sustenance that provides the means of production and reproduction. They are materially and symbolically constructed as the "place of origin", the physical and spiritual place where the Mapuche have always lived, linking historic memory, language, traditions and social relations (Tricot, 2009). Indeed, the intertwined defence of communities and of communitarian land ownership has been key a component in the struggle of the Mapuche people, and constitutes an autonomic referent where authorities, knowledges and Mapuche ways of being are re-enacted (Marimán et al., 2006a).

Mapuche communities are based on the *lof*, the ancestral smallest socio-territorial Mapuche organisation consisting of various related families headed by a *lonko* (literally the "head" of the *lof*) (Marileo, 2002). Elicura Chihuailaf (1999), Mapuche poet and activist, states that although it has been reworked in many ways through years and centuries, the old *lof* has nevertheless known how to adapt to a moving universe to reach its contemporary status. For him, the contemporary Mapuche community represents "the continuity of our way to understand the world ... sustained in living symbols and constantly "vivificantes" (life-giving)" (Chihuailaf, 1999 p. 28, my translation). At its base are the *tuwün* and the *küpalme*, two key concepts that define and constitute the *lof*. The *tuwün* is the "territorial community", the foundation of family anchored in the shared physical space and significant geographical elements where people are born and grow up. The *küpalme*, on the other hand, are the "blood ties" or lineages that bond families. Therefore, place and blood ties support the existence of community, bringing together people, places and other beings. They are the basis of the *Az Mapu*, or the regulations (*Az*) that apply to each place (*Mapu* or land, territory), as well as to each

person (*che*) or *Az che*, which order and shape co-existence. In Alto Bío-Bío, as *lonko* Antolín Curriau suggests, volcanoes and mountains are the key elements that define these ways of being in common:

Pewenche organise themselves in this territory and build knowledge in a *kiñe az mapu* (territory with a shared *Az*) and therefore those who are part of it are *Az che* ... who have a *tuwün* and a *küpalme*. In the same way there exist other groups that also have a *tuwün* and a *küpalme*, but the Pewenche territory is organised characterised by the big hills (Curriau, 2003, cited in COTAM, 2003a p. 1143, my translation).

Living and growing up in the communities was often discussed during my fieldwork as an important factor in the way people relate to each other and to other beings, seeing them as brothers or sisters. Rayén, a middle aged woman, comments:

Entre los que trabajamos en el Trekaleyin hay una relación entre *lamienes*¹⁷, un hermanismo, hay respeto. De ahí nace la confianza y se busca una buena comunicación. ... Tenemos un idioma, una historia, que es distinto, porque uno piensa distinto, a pesar de que hoy muchos jóvenes estén estudiando afuera y tenemos otras cosas, a pesar de todo eso tenemos una vida distinta, hay un respeto a la tierra, una identidad distinta. Se respeta al llegar al río, al cortar un árbol. Un ciudadano si hay que cortar un árbol o un gancho lo va a hacer no más sin pensar si estará bien o estará mal. Lo mismo que tirarle piedras al río, un Mapuche no lo hace por respeto. Uno que nació y se crió en una comunidad respeta esas cosas, es distinto.

Among those of us who work in Trekaleyin there is a relationship between *lamienes* (see footnote 17), a brotherhood, respect. From that emerge trust and the search for good communication.

... We have a different language, a history, because we think differently, although many young people today are studying outside and we have other things, despite all that, we have a different life, there is a respect for the land, a different identity. There is respect when we reach the river, when we fell a tree. If a city dweller needs to cut a tree or a branch he will just do it, without thinking whether it be right or wrong. Same with

¹⁷ *Lamienes* means brothers and/or sisters when used by a woman referring to others (either men or women), or by men referring to women. *Peñi*, on the other hand, means brother and is used among men

throwing stones at the river, a Mapuche will not do that out of respect. One who was born and raised in a community respects these things, it is different.

(17 January 2009)

But in Chile the term indigenous community is also a legally and historically contested term. Contemporary indigenous communities are related to the indigenous reservations or *Títulos de Merced* imposed by the Chilean state after its military occupation of Mapuche territory since 1884, and have different degrees of concordance with the ancestral *lofs* that then, as today, were not acknowledged by the state (Bengoa, 2007). Land usurpation and the division of indigenous communitarian lands resulted in the further disintegration of the reservations, which were reduced from over 3,000 in the 1920s to 600 at the end of the dictatorship in 1990, occupying only 3.5% of the total Mapuche ancestral territory (Calbucura, 1996; Newbold, 2004). In Alto Bio-Bio the late, partial and incomplete process of creation of these reservations also laid the basis for the communities as they exist today.

Although the Indigenous Law opened some opportunities and finally recognised indigenous communities as such in 1993, it also led to contradictions and new conflicts. The law defines indigenous community as the association of those who belong to the same ethnic group and comply with at least one of the requisites of shared family ties, acknowledgment of traditional leadership, shared indigenous lands or coming from the same “old settlement”, and follow the legal procedures to formally create a community. According to these legal requirements, to create one it is necessary the participation of at least a third of those with the right to affiliate to that community, and a minimum of ten adult members (Ley 19253, 1993). However, as José Aylwin (2000) comments, this law drafted without adequate indigenous participation and consultation, did not take properly into account the reality of the existing Mapuche communities, which are the result of the transformation of the *lofs* since the establishment of the reservations and that are informed by Mapuche worldview and experiences. The incongruity between what he calls the “real communities”, also usually referred to as the “traditional communities”, and the “functional” ones created by the law, have posed a number of difficulties. Among them, he mentions the partition of traditional communities into two or even three new legal communities, the increased tensions and divisions between and among communities, and the displacement and delegitimisation of traditional leaders such as the *lonkos*. In fact, the figure of the *lonko* is not acknowledged by the law, and in its place the law declares the “community president”, a new figure similar to the president of any social organisation, as the legal representative of the communities. These community presidents are to be democratically elected within

communities, instead of being consistent with the existing authorities within Mapuche organisations, or with to the procedures and *Az, tuwün, küpalme* and *kimün* (knowledge) components involved in the designation of the *lonkos* and other Mapuche authorities (COTAM, 2003a). Thus, certain forms of Mapuche leadership have become legitimised through state sanction, while pre-existing Mapuche ways of self-government such as the *lof* or the *lonkos*, already undermined by the creation of the reservations, have been further disregarded (Latta, 2009). Therefore, the current legal recognition of indigenous communities represents the continuation of the colonisation process in which Mapuche people have been subsumed within Western forms of legislation, and which have eroded communitarian life, de-articulated ancestral forms of organisation and imposed a notion of rights attached to symbolic and physical violence (González et al., 2007).

In Alto Bío-Bío, as well as in most of the Mapuche territory, the imposition of this political and administrative model, together with the strong conflicts in the area since the 1990s over Ralco hydroelectric dam, has led to increased tensions, the fragmentation of the communities and the relative delegitimisation of the ancestral leaders and socio-political organisations (Norero, 2007; González-Parra and Simon, 2009). Here the communities have been dealing for decades with changes, but as Alex Latta (2005) notes, the transformations they have faced in the last decades have been among the fastest and most significant in their history of colonialism. For him this fact, rather than an innocent move, is part of a state strategy to govern and assimilate indigenous populations into a project of national modernisation. This was evident during fieldwork and even Germán, a Mapuche worker from CONADI, acknowledged that the Indigenous Law has had contradictory outcomes and serious impacts on the divisions of traditional communities. He said:

Es súper grave es el no reconocimiento del *lonko* como autoridad. Ha sido desplazado porque el presidente es el que representa legalmente a la comunidad, el que está facultado para poder firmar algún contrato en representación de la comunidad, así que el *lonko* ha perdido el rol protagónico que tenía antiguamente. Esto no es bueno y no favorece al pueblo Pewenche, ya que se está dividiendo el *lof mapu*, la organización tradicional no reconocida por la ley, y además produce el choque entre dirigentes.

O sea no todo es positivo. Si vemos al tema netamente cultural o religioso la ley ha sido un factor negativo, lamentablemente no ha favorecido. Quizás en el tema de reconocimiento, en el tema de tierras sí, pero en el tema netamente cultural, social religioso y político ha sido un factor negativo.

The lack of recognition of the *lonko* as an authority is very serious. He has been displaced because the president legally represents the community, is the only one authorized to sign any contract on behalf of the community, so the *lonko* has lost the central role he had previously. This is not good and does not serve the Pewenche people as the *lof mapu*, the traditional organization not acknowledged in the law, is being divided, and also produces clashes between leaders.

Therefore not all is positive. If we look at cultural or religious issues the law has been a negative factor, unfortunately it has not helped. Perhaps on issues of recognition and lands it has been useful, but on cultural, social, religious and political terms it has been a negative factor.

(3 March 2009)

In Alto Bío-Bío, most communities maintain the figure of the *lonko* and recognise the president as a parallel authority with distinct functions. The president is often linked to the management of funds and projects, while the *lonko* maintains the leadership over cultural and land matters. But there are also cases in which the president has overshadowed the *lonko*, the *lonko* has consolidated his influence but rejected the use of the term president, or even where the *lonko* is now being elected in a process similar to the one for the president. In some communities these arrangements have a clear hierarchy where the *lonko* maintains his authority. But in other communities, according to their particularities and history, this dual leadership has resulted in shifts in power and conflicts. For instance in Pitril, the only community of the Queuco valley affected by the division of their communitarian lands, Alberto, an elderly community member, said:

El presidente de la comunidad es elegido, así que tiene que considerarnos a todos. El *lonko* también es importante en la comunidad, también es elegido y tiene influencia. Pero el *lonko* no recibe proyectos sino que más que nada se preocupa de la cultura, por ejemplo de organizar el *Nguillatún*, mantener el idioma, esas cosas. El presidente está más vinculado a los proyectos, las instituciones, dar información a la gente, distribuir qué familias se benefician de proyectos en cosas como el agua y las empastadas. A veces se hacen las dos reuniones juntas, la del presidente y la del *lonko*, pero ahora eso ya no pasa porque *lonko* no está de acuerdo con que saliera el presidente de ahora, por eso los dos ya no trabajan juntos. Cada dos años elegimos presidente, en cambio el *lonko* es vitalicio pero está en contra del presidente de ahora. Además es complicado, porque acá somos

parceleros, cada uno manda en su sitio, hace lo que quiere, no es como en otras comunidades en las que todo es común y el *lonko* manda más.

The president of the community is elected, so he must take everyone into consideration. The *lonko* is also important in the community, he is also elected and has influence. But the *lonko* does not receive projects and mostly takes care of cultural stuff, for example organising the *Nguillatún*, maintaining the language, those kinds of things. The president is more related to projects, institutions, giving information to people, distributes which families benefit from projects on things like water and pastures. Sometimes the two meetings are done together, the one of the president and the one of the *lonko*, but now that does not happen because the *lonko* disagrees with the election of the current president, so the two no longer work together. Every two years we elect a president, whereas the *lonko* is for life but he is against the president now. Also, it is complicated here, because we all own our plots of lands, each one controls one's plot, does whatever she/he likes, it is not as in other communities where everything is common and the *lonko* has more command.

(6 January 2009)

As Aylwin (2000) has also identified in other parts of Chile, in some communities in Alto Bío-Bío these changes have tended to promote the election of young, better educated men as presidents. This is transforming the roles and relationships between generations in Alto Bío-Bío, displacing the elders or *kimche* (wise ones), *Mapudungún* (Mapuche language) and traditional knowledges, and privileging Western bureaucratic knowledges, as Pedro asserts:

Ahora en esa comunidad eligieron otro muchacho igual como *lonko*. Y es que ahora a la gente más antigua, los *kimche*, como que los están despojando mucho. Ya no hay *kimches* de *lonko*. En mi comunidad también, el *lonko* no tiene ni 30 años todavía.

Los jóvenes igual siempre que organizamos una reunión general llamamos a los ancianos y les preguntamos. Les decimos que queremos hacer esto y que si estará bien o estará mal, cómo lo ven ellos. Entonces ellos siempre dicen “uh, nosotros ya somos viejos y ustedes saben más del tema de los *winkas*, hagan lo que ustedes creen que más conviene”. El deseo de ellos es que todo salga bien no más, ellos siempre están dispuestos a ayudar,

pero eso dicen. Y es que a ellos les cuesta mucho llegar a una oficina, explicar la situación que pasa. Hablan muy despacio, se equivocan, no tienen una conversación clara como la que tengo contigo ahora. ¡Pero oírlos hablar en *Mapudungún*! No se confunden ni un poco ¡hablan clarito! pero en castellano se equivocan mucho. Por eso ellos dicen que les cuesta mucho llegar a conversar con un *winka* pero que nosotros como jóvenes si sabemos explicarnos más, y dicen que ese es ahora nuestro trabajo.

Now in that community they chose another boy as *lonko*. Now the elders, the *kimche*, are being dispossessed a lot. There are no *kimche* as *lonkos* anymore. Also in my community, the *lonko* is not even 30 years old.

We as young people every time we organise a general meeting we call for the elders and ask them, we tell them what we want to do and ask them whether it is right or wrong, ask for their opinion. Then they always say “uh, we are already old and you know more about the *winka* stuff, do what you believe is better”. They wish that everything goes well, they are always willing to help, but that’s what they say. And it’s because it’s too hard for them to go to an office, to explain the situation. They speak too slowly, make many mistakes, they do not have a clear conversation as I have with you now. But to hear them speak *Mapudungún*! Not even a bit confused, they speak so clearly! but in Spanish they make many mistakes. That’s why they say they find it hard to talk with *winkas*, but that us as young people we can speak clearly, and they say that’s our work now.

(21 April 2009)

In this context Trekaleyin, as a collective initiative, has to deal with the conflicts between the roles of both traditional and functional leaders, structures and procedures. But Trekaleyin is formally an indigenous association, the other type of indigenous organisation acknowledged by the Indigenous Law. Associations are easily formed, needing only a minimum of 25 indigenous people to associate following some simple legal procedures, which has generated their proliferation within and between communities, and has also been criticised for further creating divisions and weakening traditional structures (González-Parra and Simon, 2009; Latta, 2009). Trekaleyin has not escaped such criticisms, and has been questioned for being a functional organisation superimposed on traditional ones, thus complying with state interventionism and the disintegration of traditional

structures. Indeed this is also something many of its members question themselves. They have, however, also recognised that working in tourism as communities, with the *lonko* in charge, is not necessarily the best way as *lonkos* have many other functions and responsibilities, and also due to the nature of tourism work. Therefore, organising Trekaleyin as an indigenous association does have advantages, but it also involves difficulties and complexities as Eusebio, a leader of Trekaleyin, discusses:

Formar formalmente el Trekaleyin nos dio mucha más validez, especialmente porque el presidente fue elegido democráticamente, y facilitó mucho el trabajo como contraparte con otras instituciones. Bueno, para bien o para mal, porque yo igual soy bien crítico de las organizaciones que no son tradicionales, pero para el desarrollo del turismo se nos ha hecho más fácil. Igual desde el principio vinculamos a los *lonkos*, les consultamos su opinión en asambleas de la comunidad. Incluso por ejemplo en Malla Malla respetamos la autoridad que tiene el *lonko* y no seguimos trabajando con las personas que querían estar en turismo para no generar más conflicto. También hay casos en otras comunidades en que el *lonko* participa activamente, por ejemplo en esta otra comunidad el *lonko* va con nosotros a definir las rutas de las cabalgatas porque lo ve como una forma de recuperación de tierras también. Pero en otras comunidades los *lonko* no opinan tanto. Además hay en Trekaleyin varias autoridades tradicionales también, bien respetadas en sus comunidades.

Igual, yo creo es súper complicado, porque al final como asociación es como mejor podemos trabajar en una actividad económica que apoye lo cultural, de alguna u otra forma. O sea que reconociendo que es una actividad y una estructura ajena a lo tradicional, tratamos de tener la mayor cantidad de conversaciones y ojalá entre los que están por la autonomía de las comunidades, manteniendo un contacto fluido con las formas tradicionales. O sea, en la medida en que haya estas conversaciones con las autoridades tradicionales es como mejor creo que lo podemos hacer como asociación territorial. Igual no es algo que esté como escrito, es algo que estamos construyendo, conversando.

Creating formally Trekaleyin gave us more validity especially since the president was elected democratically, and it facilitated the work as a partner with other institutions. Well, for better or for worse, as I am very critical of the organisations that are not traditional, but for the development of tourism it has become easier. But from the

beginning we engaged with *lonkos*, we asked their opinion in communities' assemblies. Even, for example in Malla Malla, we respected the authority of the *lonko* and stopped working with those who wanted to be in tourism to avoid generating more conflict. Also in other communities the *lonko* participates actively, for instance in another community the *lonko* comes with us to choose the tracks for the horseback riding trips as he sees them as a form of land claim. But in other communities the *lonko* does not give much his opinion. Also, there are several traditional authorities in Trekaleyin, well respected in their communities.

Anyway I think it is very complicated, because in the end as an association is how we best can work on an economic activity that supports the cultural, in some form or another. So, recognising that it is an activity and a structure outside the traditional, we try to have as many conversations as we can, hopefully between those that search the autonomy of the communities, maintaining a fluid contact with the traditional forms. So, to the extent that these discussions exist with traditional authorities I think is the best way we can work as a territorial association. Anyway, it is not something that is written, is something that we are building, talking.

(4 March 2009)

Thus, acknowledging these complexities, Trekaleyin members have actively tried to engage traditional leaders and assemblies, consulting and respecting their decisions. In fact, as Eusebio suggests, many of the members of Trekaleyin also hold roles such as *lonkos*, *lonkos de Nguillatún* (leaders in the ceremony of the *Nguillatún*) or *werkenes* (spokesperson) among their communities. On the other hand, Trekaleyin is also valued because, although not free of tensions, it represents a collective and territorial effort to work at valley level, reinforcing the importance of collaboration, self-organisation and solidarity. We should not forget that Trekaleyin emerged from the Asociación de Lonkos, and that therefore since its beginnings it has been informed by a resistance to individualism, to passivity and to the disarticulation of the Pewenche communities. Therefore, as Eusebio suggested, Trekaleyin might be using an “imposed” structure and legal framework, but that does not mean that its members are necessarily complying with it, as in many ways they are aiming to rework and appropriate these structures, cultivating reflexivity and dialogues in order to make them work for their broader interests.

Although Trekaleyin is a collective initiative, not everybody in the communities participates in it. In fact, only a small portion of community members are directly engaged in Trekaleyin, and many criticise what they do on different grounds. But as Gombay (2010) has acknowledged, differences and disagreements among communities are common. Thus, Trekaleyin as a collective initiative tries to adopt a communitarian perspective, including and respecting community spaces, leaders, values and decision making processes, while dealing at the same time with differences, hierarchies, and disagreements. After having explored the meaning and some of the complexities of the communities in Alto Bío-Bío, it is possible to understand more thoroughly the ways in which Trekaleyin is engaged in these communities' structures and economies. But before moving into these economic arrangements, I will review discussions around community economies, to then focus on two approaches that I find particularly useful to examine the experience of Trekaleyin.

Approaches to community economies

The ways in which we understand community influences how we understand economy, and in particular community economy, including its involvement with tourism. According to Stuart C. Aitken (2009), the work of Ferdinand Tönnies, dating back to 1887, has deeply shaped ideas about community and society and their links with economy until today. Tönnies made the distinction between pre-modern communities (*Gemeinschaft*) and modern societies (*Gesellschaft*) in dualist terms, arguing that communities are based on close social relations where place and face-to-face interactions are key elements. On the other hand, societies are comprised of separated individuals whose social relations are based on efficiency and the contractual duties of capitalism. This notion of society or *Gesellschaft* was further developed by Max Weber (1968), who argued that it emerges from the “rational capitalist forces” of the market that “dehumanise” communities.

The dualism of community as pre-modern and society as modern, has led to the distinction between community and market economies, which have been seen as separated spheres in discourses of the economy. Indeed, according to Stephen Gudeman (2001) what is currently acknowledged as economic usually only considers the market side of the economy, where all goods are said to have a price and be available for exchange. Economic processes that do not follow these principles are not recognised as such, or are represented as irrational, externalities or obstacles to a system that is otherwise efficient. Gudeman (2001), however, mentions that discussions about the distinction between the community and the market realms dates 2,000 years back with Aristotle's division of

use and exchange value, which has since then been reworked in different ways by authors such as Adam Smith and Karl Marx. In neoclassical economics in the mid XIX century, exchange value became understood as “price” determined by the interaction of supply and demand in the market, which according to Gudeman, erased the distinction between use and exchange value of most modern economy discourses, and resulted in the market being understood as an independent realm.

From other theoretical perspectives, discussions on community and market economy have also been developed, such as the Weberian distinction between the substantive and formal rationalities (Weber, 1968), and Karl Polanyi’s (1977) ideas of the substantive or embedded economy and the formal or disembedded economy. Also Gudeman (2001) observes that these issues have been studied by looking at the ways in which social relations, trust, reciprocity, caring and respect influence trade. However, he argues that in general these approaches have tended to overlook the actual interactions and connections between the two realms, and the ways in which communities persist and support the market and vice versa. So in his work, Gudeman aims to demonstrate the ways in which the market and the community realms interact and complement each other. He suggests that they are two dualistic parallel systems institutionally and tactically interconnected, and that both are always present in complex and changing relations, although sometimes one takes precedence over the other.

Although I agree with Gudeman in that different economic perspectives do coexist and interact in meaningful ways, I believe that in his work the assumption of the clear distinction between these two realms of the economy is problematic, and it fails to move beyond the dualist trap that presents community and market economies as separate systems, which tends to render invisible or subordinate one or the other. That is why I found the work of Amin and Thrift (2004; 2007), particularly useful. For them, the economy -or cultural economy- is the result of the entanglement of “abstract rules, historical legacies, material practices, symbolic and discursive narratives, social and cultural habits, material arrangements, emotions and aspirations” (2007 p. 145). The economy is plural, diverse and performative at all levels and scales, and not just at the local or community level. Therefore, not only shaping micro and meso scales of the economy, culture and other elements are also inseparable in the macro-economy, highlighting the relevance of elements and processes usually ignored in economic discourses. Moreover, they speak of the economy as part of a flat -“yet profoundly variegated and uneven” (2007, p. 146)- ontology because, as a mixed ensemble, the economy has no clear hierarchy of different inputs at different levels (2004), but is a “phenomenological plane traced out in various contours of signature and impact by the performances

and architectures of the elements held together in compositional and functional relation with each other” (2007 p. 145).

Following this more comprehensive approach to the economy, and acknowledging its hybridity and cultural nature at all levels, I will now focus on two approaches to the economy that, embracing its multiplicity, seem particularly appropriate to exploring the economies of the Queuco valley communities and Trekaleyin’s is articulation in them. The first is Gibson-Graham’s work on diverse economies, and the second is the work on *economía social y solidaria* currently being developed in Latin America. I chose these two approaches because they offer particularly sophisticated and relevant theoretical perspectives and analytical tools to approach community economies not as closed or isolated. Both of them embrace complexity and value initiatives such as Trekaleyin, that aim to expand diversity and creativity. Finally, because of their interest in silenced or overlooked aspects of the economy, they can contribute to the decolonisation and diversification of development and the economy, including tourism.

Diverse economies and the “economía social y solidaria”

For Gibson-Graham (2006), understanding the economy as the arrangement of multiple intertwined practices, values, relationships, knowledges, people and things is important. It means acknowledging the real and current existence of a multiplicity of economies that include but is not limited to capitalism, and that community economies are not necessarily marginal, local-scale, or remnants of the past. These notions are crucial to understanding the diverse and solidarity economies of Alto Bio-Bio not as destined to extinction, but as part of the overall economy which they are at the same time transforming.

From a postdevelopment perspective, Gibson-Graham (2006) has been concerned with the ways in which development, and in particular the economy, can be imagined and practised differently, beyond the limited imaginaries of neoliberal globalisation and capitalism. Acknowledging as constituent parts of the economy experiences and practices that have been rendered invisible, she has aimed to create a “discourse of economic difference” in order to contribute to a “politics of economic innovation”, thus “increasing the possibilities for economic experimentation around development” (Gibson-Graham, 2005 p. 6). But while studying community economies, she has warned against attempting to define, however loosely, what the community economy is and contains and what is not, to avoid creating a normative representation that values some practices while

excludes others. She, along with others, focuses on the notion of “commonality of being” because, as a not normative concept, it allows space for ethical negotiations (Roelvink and Gibson-Graham, 2009). Therefore, for her “building a community economy [is] a process of continual resignification, of repeated traversals of any fantasy that there is a perfect community economy that lies outside of negotiation, struggle, uncertainty, ambivalence, disappointment, one that tells us what to do and how to ‘be communal’” (Gibson-Graham, 2006 p. 98-99). Thus, for her community economy includes all “those economic practices that sustain lives and maintain *wellbeing directly* ..., that *distribute surplus* to the material and cultural maintenance of community and that actively make and share a *commons*” (Gibson-Graham, 2005 p. 16, emphasis in original). Together, all these practices and ideas point to the possibility of thinking of a “diverse economy”, which includes but goes beyond capitalism and the market (Gibson-Graham, 2006). This idea is illustrated in the image of an iceberg where formal market transactions, labour and capitalist enterprises are located at the visible tip, “underpinned by a myriad of submerged but sustaining alternative and non-market transactions, alternatively paid and unpaid labour, [and] alternative capitalist and non-capitalist enterprises” (Gibson-Graham and Roelvink, 2009 p. 329). Diverse economies do not only include humans, but also involve relations and interconnectedness with non-humans (Roelvink and Gibson-Graham, 2009).

Understanding the economy in these terms has several consequences. First, it highlights the ethical choices people face when taking part in a diverse economy of interdependent “being in common” (Gibson-Graham and Roelvink, 2009). Second, it makes credible the existence and emergence of multiple economies, and questions the hegemony of capitalism as the natural economic form. And finally, it expands the possibilities to understand, inspire, construct and support alternative and counter-hegemonic development pathways, where economic innovation can proliferate addressing diversity and complexity (Gibson-Graham, 2006). Realising that capitalocentric perspectives tend to see all economic activities as already capitalist or contained within capitalism, and that therefore have the paralysing effect of rendering any alternative as impossible or utopian (Gibson-Graham, 2006), it is important to be careful of the ways in which we assess economic initiatives, as we risk reinforcing these capitalocentric views that understand capitalism as universal, monolithic and imperturbable. By doing so, our work can help to undermine, make non-credible or make invisible the ways in which people are already re-constructing their diverse economies, such as the case of Trekaleyin. In order to overcome these attitudes, Gibson-Graham and Jenny Cameron (2007 p. 20) emphasise that it is important to adopt an “affective stance” that enables us to “think and enact possibility”, and that more than judging, aims to recognise and support inspiring examples with thoughtful, affirming and practical approaches. This means

understanding these experiences as experiments in the process of being constructed instead of fixed and definitive events, where more than evaluations and measurements with external criteria, what is needed is encouragement and reflection to improve their development. Therefore, from our position (as researchers, development practitioners or other), we need to be aware of the decisions and approaches we take, consciously or not, and of the inherent power our work has to open or close possibilities, and to support diversity, to discourage it or to promote uniformity (Gibson-Graham, 2008). Beyond romanticism, a positive and affective stance does not automatically generate new ways forward, but can certainly strengthen the resilience of local economies, and it involves making the ethical and political choice to affirm that “the desire for a more just economy is never completely suppressed” (Gibson-Graham and Cameron, 2007 p. 24).

Together with acknowledging its diversity, it has been suggested that a more comprehensive view of the economy can indeed represent a challenge and a critique to Western notions of modernity and coloniality, undermining their universalist assumptions (Escobar, 2005; Prada, 2010). Arturo Escobar (2005) observes that the transition to modernity in Western Europe was marked by the rise of economics and the individual, accompanied by the awakening of European expansionism and colonialism. Since then capitalism, market economy and their associated cultural practices have been imposed on the rest of the world, and particularly since the second half of the twentieth century, through development. But this has encountered numerous forms of resistance and creativity through which people, communities and even countries engage with capitalism. As Natalia Quiroga Díaz (2009) suggests, the history of Latin America “has been generous in providing lessons about the harmful effects of contractive economic policies and totalitarian regimes” (p. 86, my translation) but also has provided many forms of this creativity and ways of resistance. Indeed, Escobar (2010) recently suggested that contemporary indigenous and social movements in Latin America, are increasingly addressing the defence and recognition of the co-existence of diverse ontologies, where different understandings of life, meanings, economic practices and relationships (including with nature) are at stake. These silenced and subordinated knowledges and voices are challenging important tenets of modernity, development and the economy. Among them he identifies:

[the] primacy of humans over non-humans (separation of nature and culture) and of some humans over others (the colonial divide between us and them); the idea of the autonomous individual separated from community; the belief in objective knowledge, reason, and science as the only valid modes of knowing; and the cultural construction of

‘the economy’ as an independent realm of social practice, with ‘the market’ as a self-regulating entity outside of social relations (Escobar, 2010 p. 9).

From a different but related perspective, emerging studies on postcolonial economies have also engaged with the implications of colonialism for understandings of the economy. They argue that despite the rise of postcolonial studies, the economy has remained until recently an overlooked area, and therefore studies of economic arrangements outside the “West” have in general tended to explore them from Western conceptions. This fact has led to the universalization of Western constructs, and the interpretation of non-Western economies commonly in terms of lack, absence, inadequacy and/or varieties of capitalism (Pollard et al., 2009), or as “diverse” or “alternative” to the West thus reinforcing its centrality (Pollard et al., 2011). Therefore, postcolonial studies of the economy, from diverse conceptual and methodological approaches, by “queering the economy” (Pollard et al., 2009) seek to disrupt and contest hegemonic Western ways of knowing the economy, and “theorise ‘the economic’ as plural, contested, and above all, situated” (Pollard et al., 2011 p. 3), marked by particular contexts and histories. They also aim to challenge the ontological distinction between culture and economy, and move beyond super-structural notions of culture. Thus, they emphasise the power relations involved in the production of knowledge in the West and the resulting marginalisation of “others”, as well as to the uneven material and social realities of capitalism (Pollard et al., 2011; see also Lee, 2006; Stenning et al., 2010; Zein-Elabdin and Charusheela, 2004).

But the decolonisation of the economy is not an easy task, either in conceptual or practical terms. Limitations of the current instruments for thinking about the economy and the lack of other “languages” and tools tend to reinforce the assumption that mainstream economy as it exists today is inevitable (Lander, 2009). These limitations are one of the main reasons why until today, for instance, even progressive governments in Latin America find it difficult to imagine development and the economy in different, more appropriate ways (Gudynas, 2009b). Aníbal Quijano (2008) recognises that the current search for other possible economies in Latin America through the ideas of the “economía social y solidaria”, an area of intense debate, is indeed a powerful critique to Eurocentrism and neoliberalism. However, he also warns against the risk of reinforcing both Eurocentrism and capitalocentrism if these options are built as “alternative to” them, assuming their centrality. Although the economía social y solidaria has been criticised for its allegedly normative character (Gibson-Graham, 2006), Quijano (2008) highlights their emphasis on reciprocity,

solidarity, and the role of communitarian practices, and gives special value to its diversity. From indigenous movements to feminist scholars, including politicians, unions, farmers, students, governments and so on, the *economía social y solidaria* has as many interpretations as its theoretical and material roots (Coraggio, 2009). This diversity, although not free of tensions, has been identified as one of its main strengths as it acknowledges and engages with different knowledges, practices, relationships, and logics (Benalcázar, 2009), which is key both to overcoming reductionist and evolutionist Eurocentric notions of history as linear and unidirectional, and to deepen our understandings of the diversity and heterogeneity that have always existed in societies that move in multiple directions (Quijano, 2008). But recognising and embracing this cultural, economic and political diversity is also important for the much-needed reworking of democracy, the state, plurinationality and the relations with nature that accompanies decolonisation, including the reconfiguration of the economy beyond capitalism (Gonsálvez, 2010; Santos, 2007).

Therefore, *economía social y solidaria* does not have a single definition, but like Gibson-Graham's diverse economies, promote mixed economies based on several values and principles, among which the market is only one, together with reciprocity, redistribution, self-management and social and ecological sustainability (Escobar, 2010). For some, it is an alternative mode of production and distribution that is against capitalism. For others it is a form of social production that needs to coexist with capitalism but does not aspire to become an hegemonic economic system. Yet for others, it is about a process of change in which economic practices that aim for the reproduction of its members are consolidated, configuring a "mixed economy" in which capitalist activities are not hegemonic (Quiroga Díaz, 2009). Whatever the option, in general work on *economía social y solidaria* agrees that assuring the sustainability and interdependency of the life of individuals, communities and non-humans is crucial, and should inform decisions about production and distribution (Coraggio, 2009). Breaking the separation between economy and politics, these debates stress our responsibilities of the social and environmental outcomes of economic decisions (Hinkelammert and Mora Jiménez, 2009), understanding nature as constitutive of the economy, and subordinating economic goals to environmental protection, social justice and collective wellbeing (Escobar, 2010).

But the discussions on *economía social y solidaria* are part of broader debates in Latin America in which indigenous peoples and knowledges have made a significant contribution. The Quechua notion of "*sumak kawsay*" (or *suma qamaña* in Aymara), translated into Spanish as Buen Vivir (living well), has been a cornerstone not just of economic reformulations, but of broader issues of

plurinationality, relations to nature, democracy and development (Gonsálvez, 2010), and even has been included in the recently reformed state Constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia (Gudynas, 2010). As an innovative and ancient concept that acknowledges traditional wisdom in order to face current challenges, Buen Vivir refers to the material and spiritual conditions involved in the maintenance of the harmonious life of people, nature and all other beings, where reductionist views of development and the economy are questioned (Benalcázar, 2009). Buen Vivir, then, aims to articulate the economy, environment, society and culture to ensure the “good life” and co-existence for a broad range of actors (Escobar, 2010). Inspired by postdevelopment and decolonising efforts, Buen Vivir has aimed to stress the possibility of other ways of thinking and organising the world, embracing the Latin American diversity of knowledges and experiences. But more than looking at the past, Buen Vivir highlights the ways in which this wisdom and these knowledges and practices are currently informing and shaping the everyday reality of many people, and are therefore able to re-work society today (León, 2009). As Eduardo Galeano (2009 p. 28, my translation) argues, taking into account principles like Buen Vivir is part of a “process of recuperation of ancient traditions from all America... traditions that are miraculously still alive despite the heavy legacy of racism... which continues to mutilate reality and memory... These voices from the past help us to foresee other possible futures”.

Buen Vivir, then, has the potential to challenge mainstream development paradigms focused on economic growth and neoliberalism, and their colonial, modernist and dependence-based legacies. Catherine Walsh (2010) has acknowledged these implications of Buen Vivir, as well as the ways in which it is based on the cosmovisions of indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants of Latin America. She proposes that considering the context where mestizo identities and Western knowledges have traditionally been privileged, incorporating Buen Vivir in discourses and political agendas is highly significant. She poses that this has been possible due to the agency and increasing prominence of indigenous movements in the last two decades, and the urgent need for an alternative to the “culture of death” of the neoliberal development project. However, she is also careful to suggest some of the complications present in Buen Vivir. First, she mentions that despite its attractive and innovative narratives, Buen Vivir can indeed lead to the recognition and inclusion of subaltern knowledges without necessarily entailing changes to the state and social structures or unequal relations of power. Thus, the use of Buen Vivir can even help to legitimate them, co-opting the term and resulting in limited real intercultural and plurinational transformations. The state and its interventions, then, can engage with Buen Vivir but at the same time continue to rest in the legacies and reconstructions of coloniality. She also mentions that the increasing interchange of the terms Buen Vivir and development can lead to the false impression that in countries like Ecuador the general population

“think and act ‘with’ ancestral principles, knowledges, and communities, assuming these principles and knowledges are valid for all” (p. 19), when these issues remain highly contested and people’s experiences are very diverse. So without disregarding the relevance and groundbreaking contributions of discussions around Buen Vivir, Walsh (p. 20) makes clear that it does at the same time entail inconsistencies and contradictions, and that we need to remain “evermore vigilant of the institutional arrangements and the colonial entanglements” in which it is embedded, and its implications.

However, one of the most interesting aspects of Buen Vivir is that it does not assume a status of underdevelopment to be overcome. Rather, it stresses the fact that in most indigenous languages there are no equivalent concepts to development, poverty or wealth, but rather a holistic view about how people should live in society to build a good life (Benalcázar, 2009). Similarly, for Mapuche people absolute concepts of poverty and wealth do not exist. *Filla*, commonly translated as poverty, refers to shortage and *ulmén* to abundance, but both are relative terms and include moral aspects. As the *machi*¹⁸ Víctor Caniullán (2003 p. 21; my translation) says “we never, me at least have never felt I am poor, but rather rich in *kimün* (wisdom), in relating to nature, in relating to and living what is the spirituality”. The same *machi* further explained this issue in an interview¹⁹:

La forma de medir la pobreza es con parámetros muy occidentales, la gente incluso se siente ofendida cuando se dice que somos pobres ¡si no nos falta nada!. Más que nada la falta de algunos elementos se podría caracterizar como pobreza, pero como “no tener por el momento”, en lo relativo a la “escasez”. El concepto de pobreza no existe en *Mapudungún*, lo que existe es el concepto de escasez, *filla*, escasez de algo en un momento determinado. Por ejemplo, en un determinado momento se puede acabar la papa, se dice “estamos escasos de papa”, pero no “estoy pobre”. El concepto opuesto es *ulmén*, que es lo contrario a pobreza, pero tampoco es riqueza. Hace referencia a la abundancia, es abundante en cuestiones materiales y también en conocimientos. Una persona es sabia independiente de que puede tener mucha escasez. Finalmente es rico, y dentro de la

¹⁸ Healer, chamán

¹⁹ Interview conducted on the 26th March of 2009 by Elvis Parraguez for the completion of his PhD and facilitated by him in person. *Machi* Víctor Caniullán works at the *Mapuche ñi Lawentuwun* (Centro de Medicina Mapuche) in Nueva Imperial, one of the well-known experiences of intercultural health in Chile (see Parraguez, unpublished).

sociedad Mapuche es considerada rico, pero rico por sus conocimientos, lo que lo transforma en *Kümeche*, persona transparente, tolerante, comprensiva, solidaria y dispuesta a ser colaboradora en función al norte de un ideal común.

The way to measure poverty is with parameters that are too Western, people even get offended because people say we are poor, but we are not lacking anything! Mainly the lack of some elements could be characterised as poverty, but as “not having at the moment”, with regards to “lacking”. The concept of poverty does not exist in *Mapudungún*, what exists is the concept of scarcity, *filla*, scarcity of something in a given moment. For example, at a certain moment the potato can be finished, it is said “we have a scarcity of potatoes”, not I am poor. The opposing concept is *ulmén*, which is the contrary to poverty, but is not wealth either. It rather makes reference to abundance, to have abundance of material things and also knowledge. A person who is wise, no matter if she/he is going through a lot of scarcity, is finally rich and within Mapuche society is considered to be rich, but rich for her/his knowledges, which makes them to be a *Kümeche*, a transparent person, tolerant, understanding, standing in solidarity and willing to collaborate towards the ideal of a common good (my translation)

These understandings about what constitute wealth and scarcity mean a shift when thinking about development and the economy. Instead of the search for growth and development in conventional economic terms, they refer to concepts of wellbeing, balance, and the quality of relationships. Therefore, bringing together insights of Gibson-Graham’s diverse economies with Latin American work on *economía social y solidaria*, as well as with Mapuche perspectives and knowledges, is part of a decolonising effort that involves dropping the search for homogeneous concepts. Rather, it entails understanding development, *Buen Vivir* and the economy as a multiplicity of projects, paths, logics and subjects, where new and old practices and knowledges are being extended and interwoven. Based on these perspectives, I will next explore the ways in which *Trekaleyin* is being articulated in the communities’ economy with a three-fold aim. First, I intend to challenge the common conception of Alto Bío-Bío as a site of lacking and need. Second, I wish to demonstrate that far from being passive, community members are using tourism to construct a particular arrangement of different economic practices and logics that, although not free from conflicts, aims to be coherent with and strengthen broader notions of wellbeing and autonomy. And third, I hope to contribute to expanding the imagination and options for development, the economy,

and tourism among (indigenous) communities. Therefore, I will explore how tourism is linked to the communities' economic arrangements by first looking at issues of production, transactions and labour. Then I will focus on the influence of Pewenche ontologies in the economy in general and in Trekaleyin in particular. Finally, I will provide a reflection of the implications of these understandings of their economic arrangements.

Trekaleyin and the diverse and solidarity economies of Alto Bío-Bío

Mapuche economic systems are usually defined as closed and only focused on subsistence despite their connectedness and contribution to the broader economy, which can be traced back to the times of the Spanish colonisation when their trading networks extended until Peru in the north and Argentina in the east (COTAM, 2003b; Marimán et al., 2006a; Pinto, 2003). This characterisation of the economy of Mapuche communities has been criticised by Marimán et al. (2006a). They who argue that it makes the many ways in which the Mapuche have been involved in the economy invisible, and uses “subsistence systems” as a reason to explain and justify poverty. The economy of the communities of Alto Bío-Bío has been also classified by the Chilean government as a “subsistence indigenous-peasant productive system” (Ministerio de Planificación, 2000), failing to acknowledge the economic relations they have maintained for centuries with other areas of Chile and Argentina, in terms of exchange of objects, labour, knowledges, lands and resources (Navarro and Adan, 1998; Molina and Correa, 1998; Molina, 1998). But it is not only a matter of representing Mapuche economy as isolated. Accounts of its constitution also tend to be done from a narrow and exclusionary understanding of what counts as part of the economy, that neglects a whole range of practices, relations, values and ontological frameworks that constitute Mapuche economies, further contributing to their misrepresentation and reduction (COTAM, 2003b; Organizaciones Territoriales Mapuche, 2006). As it has been argued in the literature of diverse and social and solidarity economies, through this “silencing” of certain elements and histories, the promotion of ethnocentric development and economic understandings is unproblematically presented as the only possible option, and justified as “the” way to overcome poverty.

A more thorough examination will be attempted here of the current economies of Alto Bío-Bío. I believe tourism provides a particularly interesting opportunity to explore these economic arrangements from a more comprehensive and hopefully decolonising perspective, as it has become a key element in the re-negotiations of the communities' economies, particularly during recent years.

Trekaleyin, as a collective initiative, has re-activated networks, relationships and discussions at various levels and where cultural and ontological issues are at the centre. The production of goods and services has been addressed and re-worked with tourism, as well as issues around transactions and the remuneration of labour. It has also included discussions on the relations among community members, their use of their territories, and their connections with natural and supernatural beings. Indeed, it has ignited debates and shared decisions about how and where to take tourists, as well as the adequate ways to showcase culture and the active and conscious “performance” of Pewenche culture. Tourism also provides a relatively “controlled space” for intercultural encounters with both tourists and institutions, where Pewenche knowledges and culture are explicitly acknowledged, valued and taken into consideration, and the communities’ abilities to manage their self-representation is enhanced.

Next I will examine the communities’ economy following Gibson-Graham’s three sets of economic relations that constitute diverse economies, which are “the production, appropriation and distribution of surplus; ... transactions of goods, services and finances; [and] the performance and modes of remuneration of labour” (Gibson-Graham, 2005 p. 12). Then, I will explore the Pewenche ontologies or ways of being and knowing that inform Trekaleyin and co-constitute the communities’ economic arrangements.

Production, transactions and labour: Tourism in the communities’ economic arrangements

In the economy of the Pewenche communities, territorial continuity and free access and movement are crucial, because they practice annual transhumance based in the cyclical use of the different altitudinal zones of their territories. During autumn and winter they stay in the “invernadas” or low lands in the valleys, where the permanent houses and buildings are located and there is less snowfall, and in spring and summer they move to the “veranadas” or higher lands in the mountains where the *mallines* or grasslands remain green to feed the cattle (see Figures 13 to 17). Livestock is the main traditional activity of Pewenche families to accumulate wealth, and is one of the main reasons to travel between different ecological zones during the year. Therefore, the reduction of lands controlled by the communities as a consequence of the appropriation of outsiders since the mid-nineteenth century, has had strong consequences for Pewenche livestock economies (Molina et al., 1998). They raise cows and horses, but small livestock such as sheep and goats account

for the larger numbers. Cattle provide meat, milk and workforce, as well as wool and leather used for handicrafts, another important economic activity. During their stay at the “veranadas”, families also collect the Pewén nuts or piñón, an activity of particularly strong cultural significance, as well as other forest products such as fungi (as *digüeños* and *changles*), seeds, medicinal plants and firewood.



Figure 13. Family travelling to the veranadas with their cattle
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha



Figure 14. Veranada

Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha



Figure 15. Staying at the veranada
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha



Figure 16. Veranada
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha



Figure 17. Veranada during winter
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

In the invernadas or lower lands two main spaces are used. The first is the orchard, usually close to the house where fresh vegetables and fruit trees are grown, and also where chicken and other domestic birds are kept. And second, extensive crops, mainly potatoes and wheat, are cultivated (see Figure 18). Extensive agriculture has been in decline, however, as a result of the reduction of community lands, soil degradation, increasing pressure due to population growth and the regulations imposed by CONAF that prohibit the practice of slash and burn for agriculture (Molina et al., 1998). In these lowlands cattle is kept during the winter, and apiculture has been successfully adopted in the last decades.



Figure 18. Invernada
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

Tourism is a reasonably recent and incipient activity among the communities, starting in the early 1990s, and involves activities both in the spaces of the invernadas (camping sites, cabins, etc) and the “veranadas” where the horseback riding trips take place (see Figures 19 and 20). But alongside these productive economic activities, there are reproductive activities such as household duties, care of children, old and sick people, construction and maintenance of buildings, and so on.



Figure 19. Tourists travelling through the veranadas
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha



Figure 20. Recently inaugurated tourist refuge in a Pewén tree forest
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

Overall, the production in these communities, as well as in most rural Mapuche communities in Chile, can be identified as “diverse” in the sense that it is not mainly or exclusively done through to the market (COTAM, 2003b). It is strongly focused on the reproduction of the families and communities, and most of what is produced is consumed within them. This is also true in regards to transactions, where different types of exchanges exist, among which the market is only one. Items that are sold in the market include the surplus of Pewén nuts, fungi and other forest products, which are sold in the cities from time to time and honey that is sold to intermediaries or, as well as handicrafts, to tourists visiting Alto Bio-Bio or at fairs around the region. But livestock is the main source of cash for most families, usually sold via intermediaries with reduced profits or directly to people visiting the area. Livestock is used as a way of saving and keeping reserves for unexpected difficulties or particular circumstances, such as illnesses, funerals, religious ceremonies and trips, as well as to buy necessary goods to spend the winter such as wheat flour, “yerba mate”²⁰, sugar and others. Thus, as has been identified for Mapuche communities in other areas as well (COTAM, 2003b), here surplus is generated not only in the capitalist sense, as it is used to keep a pool of resources (seeds, animals, tools, money) to cope with uncertainties, difficult times, ceremonies and social events, and to maintain and improve living standards.

Outside the market, products like vegetables, crops, cattle, chicken, handicrafts, firewood and Pewén nuts are mostly consumed by each family, shared or gifted (for example for funerals, ceremonies, weddings, or as support during difficult times), or exchanged through *trueke* or barter, embedded in broader relationships and networks among community members. These networks include lineages or blood ties, *lakus* or godfathers, friendships and the use of common spaces and resources, and are an important source of cooperation and economic maintenance (Molina et al., 1998). For instance, in most communities Pewén nuts are gathered in “veranadas” owned by the whole community, but where different areas are used by designated families according to lines of ancestry. Pewén nuts are used by each family in daily cooking, shared among families and used collectively among communities in rituals like the *Nguillatún*. Surpluses of Pewén nuts are also usually traded for potatoes or wheat inside the communities, and sometimes sold in the cities. But Pewén nuts are also more than just a source of food or cash. They are a sacred and important element of Pewenche culture, and often when I asked what it means to be a Pewenche, the first answer was to

²⁰ Yerba mate (*Ilex paraguariensis*) is the leaf of a bush used for the preparation of a caffeine-rich infusion commonly drunk in Alto Bio-Bio as well as in other parts of southern Chile and South America

gather and eat Pewén nuts, because they are the “people of the Pewén tree”, the Pewenche, and maintain complex and deep relations to the trees and forests in the mountains.

Finally, with regards to labour in the Queuco valley, there are different ways of remuneration that include but go beyond waged labour, as Gibson-Graham (2006) has identified for diverse economies elsewhere. Economic activities in the communities are done mainly by family members according to their age and gender, and are usually unpaid. Between families and neighbours there are support networks and practices to help with activities that are more labour intensive, such as the “trilla” or wheat threshing (see Figure 21), and planting and harvesting extensive crops, which are usually returned with subsequent favours or feasts. “Mediería” is another way in which labour is exchanged. It is often associated with livestock, but also to a lesser extent with agriculture, and has its roots in colonial times. In it, one party contributes with cattle (or seeds or land), and the other with labour taking care of the cattle at the “veranadas” (or the crops). At the end of the season, the new born animals (or the harvest) are distributed among the two parties (Molina et al., 1998). Volunteer or free labour is also performed in different circumstances, for example in the preparations for the *Nguillatunes* and building the “ramadas” or temporary shelters for the ceremony. Paid jobs are usually done outside the communities in a range of activities. It is common for young and adult community members to work in temporary jobs in agriculture, construction or domestic service in the cities. Others, according to their levels of formal education, work in state institutions, health and education services, NGOs or private companies. Very rarely labour is paid inside the communities for specific and short term jobs, more often linked to construction. Another case of paid labour in the communities is tourism, where guides, cooks and cleaners are paid according to their individual work. This is quite a complex issue that has generated some levels of envy, tensions and controversies among community members including participants of Trekaleyin, and has required careful handling.



Figure 21. Wheat threshing involving family members and neighbours
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

But tourism is more than a simple capitalist form of labour. In the same way to what Gibson-Graham and others (2002; 2006; Cameron and Gibson, 2005a; Gibson-Graham and Cameron, 2007) have explored in numerous cases of community economies, tourism in Alto Bío-Bío is informed by a diversity of aspirations and embedded in varied and alternative and non-capitalist relations. For example, looking at the diverse economy of Jagna, the Philippines, they have identified how labour is intertwined in relations of sharing, cooperation and reciprocity through practices of reciprocal labour, labour exchange, voluntary gifting of labour and payment in kind (Gibson-Graham, 2005). Similarly, Trekaleyin is informed by the family networks, social relations, as well as by favours, compromises and other ways of remunerating labour among community members, which complicate its “individualistic” and merely profit-oriented motivations. For instance, the selection of who is or is not included as “paid workers” is informed not only by the predetermined roles of people, but also by their particular needs and circumstances, such as the difficulties some families might be facing or preparations for special events. Also, working in tourism is often linked to previous favours or family and social relations, and since 1998 community members have expressed their preference to work collectively in tourism rather than individually (Molina et al., 1998). Actually, although work is paid according to individual labour, it frequently involves the whole family, or even at times groups of

families, who support and are involved in the activity. Camping sites, for instance, although they are a family business, usually also involve neighbours who are asked to come and help, and who are paid in ways that include but go beyond money. Also, in the “veranadas” where the horseback riding trips take place, families who might not be directly involved in Trekaleyin share with tourists, and in many cases agreements are made so they can take part in tourism too, for instance preparing food or selling an animal for the barbeque. All these forms of “paid” work emphasise the importance of the values of reciprocity and redistribution among the communities, and the collective nature of tourism in the Queuco valley. But also people sometimes get involved in tourism without being paid for different reasons, such as training, passing down knowledge, monitoring, or simply having fun. For example, it is common among guides of Trekaleyin to bring young sons or nephews with them to the cabalgatas for free as a way to train them in tourism and have extra support. Elders of some communities also join tourist groups without being paid as a way to interact with tourists and share their stories and knowledge, as well as to overview the way the activity is being conducted. And others engage with tourists just for fun, as they find their company enjoyable.

As Gibson-Graham and Jenny Cameron (2007 p. 21) have demonstrated in other cases around the world, tourism in the Queuco valley is a community initiative “whose ‘core business’ is not to maximize private benefit but to produce community wellbeing directly”. Examples from Latrobe Valley, Australia, for instance, include food security projects such as community gardening and food banking, recycling and wooden furniture construction involving youth at risk (Gibson-Graham, 2002). Similarly in the Basque country, Spain, the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation has developed since the late 1940s a successful initiative based on their commitment to co-operativism and Basque solidarity in order to enact ethical economic politics (Gibson-Graham, 2006). In the same vein, Trekaleyin has not only aimed to generate income for the families involved in it, but as Gibson-Graham and Cameron (2007 p. 21 - 22) would argue, is “actively building new kinds of community ... creating and working towards alternative economies” . Developed as a complementary economic activity to others taking place in the communities, tourism is shaped and articulated with market and cash economies, as well as other forms and networks of production, reproduction, transactions and labour. It is informed by the co-existence, interdependence and frictions between families, people and communities, the connections of lineages and places, common resources as “veranadas”, forests and paths, and family and individually owned elements as horses, tents and camping sites. It is informed by values such as the primacy of the maintenance of all forms of life considered in the literature on *economía social y solidaria*, that according to Magdalena León (2009) informs production and reproduction among most Latin American indigenous communities. Trekaleyin is

also underpinned by an understanding of people as “natural and needing beings”, who depend on and sustain others with whom they share a common “origin, adventure and destiny” (Hinkelammert and Mora Jiménez, 2009 p. 41, my translation). This not only points to the fact that capitalist practices and procedures are only a part of a broader economic arrangement, as Gibson-Graham (2006) would argue, but also, according to some postulates of the *economía social y solidaria*, to the influence of different ontologies, marked by values and particular ways of being and knowing in the economy (Coraggio, 2008; Coraggio, 2009; Hinkelammert and Mora Jiménez, 2009). I will now explore the ways in which these ontologies inform community members’ engagement with tourism, shaped by their notions of wellbeing and the position and relation of people with multiple others.

Trekaleyin and Mapuche-Pewenche ontologies

In the economy of Mapuche communities, it has been acknowledged that cultural and social elements constitute an “underlying matrix” that guide economic decisions and shape the production, circulation and distribution of goods and services (COTAM, 2003a). Following the approach taken by a sector of the “new Mapuche movement”, I refer here to Mapuche culture and ontology not as fixed elements that lead to an “ethnic dictatorship” (Marimán et al., 2006a), but as a “nuclear reference more than an immutable essence... [where] identity is ancestral and not a conjuncture, but it is also changeable, permeable and with the ability to surprise” (Tricot, 2009 p. 189, my translation). It is an understanding that embraces multiplicity, because as Chihuailaf (1999 p. 46, my translation) expresses “to be Mapuche today is the manifestation of a diversity fed by a common cultural root, the tree sustained by the memory of our ancestors”. This diversity is also present in the concept of “Mundo Mapuche” developed by Mapuche organisations and intellectuals, which links memory, present and future, interweaving principles, values and spiritual dimensions that inform discussions around development, the economy and territory (Marimán, 2005a; Hernández, 2003). However, taking into account Mapuche-Pewenche ontologies and culture in the economy is a political and controversial issue. It confronts those who argue that Mapuche culture and people have merged and disappeared within broader Chilean culture and society. This perspective has been developed within academic circles by scholars from different approaches (Saavedra, 2002), among which Sergio Villalobos, a Chilean historian who was awarded the History National Prize in 1992 and was the director of the National Library between 1990 and 1992, has been central. He has written several books about these issues in general (Villalobos, 1982; 1995), including a textbook widely used in Chilean schools (including mine) during the 1980s (Villalobos, 1983), and one on the Pewenche in

particular (Villalobos, 1989). He has also influenced political debates and reached the mainstream media on several occasions, with people across the whole political spectrum supporting his view (see for example Villalobos, 2000; 2003; 2008; 2009; and for some responses - none of them from Mapuche people- see Salcedo Vodnizz, 2000; Soublette, 2008). Therefore, by engaging in this exploration of the influence of Mapuche culture and ontologies in the economy, I explicitly aim to make them visible and to contribute towards the processes of decolonisation promoted by Mapuche organisations and researches, as well as to demonstrate that current indigenous struggles in Latin America are involving ontological dimensions (De la Cadena, 2009).

According to the Mapuche *kimūm* (wisdom), *kūme felen* is the ultimate goal of life and means wellbeing in harmony. It includes tranquility and the wellbeing of people within themselves, their natural surroundings and also with the different *newén* (forces) of the *wajontu mapu* (territory, literally “the big spaces”) and the *waj mapu* (universe) (COTAM, 2003a). Humans live in a space or dimension where people, communities, land, nature and forces interact in a permanent struggle between positive and negative energies (*kūme* and *weda newén*). So, in order to maintain wellbeing or *kūme felen*, it is important to keep the balance and harmony between these forces and elements, which is attained by maintaining a good conduct (*nor felen*) following the ethical guidelines contained in the *Az Mapu*, the rules that permeate all aspects of life (Marileo, 2002; Chihuailaf, 1999). Despite being place-specific, *Az Mapu* contains some general principles or values to live a good life, such as reciprocity (*wiñoltuwün zugu*), respect (*yamün*), admiration (*ekun*), solidarity (*kejuwün*), caring for others (*üjwentun*), self-regulation (*kishu mapuche günewün*), and the defence of oneself and the collective (*inkawün*) (COTAM, 2003a). Therefore, the idea of *kūme felen*, refers to wellbeing in broad terms, involving humans, non-humans and cosmic forces, and contains the notion of *kūme mongen* or quality of life (Reiman, 2007 cited in Tricot, 2009), a more narrow concept that has been included in experiences of intercultural health in Chile (Boccaro, 2007).

The influence of these concepts in the economy was noted by a group of Mapuche organisations that in 2006 collectively presented a development proposal to the Chilean government. In it they expressed that despite the profound changes and challenges that the Mapuche economy has faced, the economy in Mapuche communities is still informed by the principles of balanced wellbeing (*kūme felen*), good life (*kūme mongen*), solidarity (*kejuwün*) and harmony with nature (*ixofil mongen*). They also stressed the fact that the *lof* or community is the centre of this economy, which is linked to their ancestral knowledge (*kimūm*) and regulations (*Az Mapu*) (Organizaciones Territoriales

Mapuche, 2006). These values, knowledges and the centrality of the community inform and are mobilised in Trekaleyin in various ways, which as a collective economic initiative, is motivated by desires and aspirations that include but are not restricted to income. Although important for the families involved, the income Trekaleyin has brought to the communities has not been very high in absolute terms, and enlarging it remains a challenge. However, there is not a desire to maximise profit at all costs, and the ways in which tourism is planned and limited is linked to the search for wellbeing in broad terms, including the balance between people, communities, place, nature and the different *newenes*. As Marimán and Aylwin (2008) have observed, *küme felen* includes personal growth and becoming a wiser person aiming to relate to nature and other people maintaining balance,. This fact is addressed by Miguel, a guide of Trekaleyin, in the following quote. He refers to the existence of a sense of responsibility, solidarity and reciprocity within Trekaleyin, as well as to the desire for the wellbeing or *küme felen* of the communities in general in more-than-monetary terms.

Me gusta trabajar en Trekaleyin porque creo que es una forma de trabajar entre comunidades. No son todas, pero ya son algunas, y hacer esto significa que nos apoyamos y nos beneficiamos juntos, y que aprendemos. La gente aprende muchas cosas nuevas a través de este trabajo, y a organizarnos también.

... Yo estoy en esto y estoy contento no porque me pagan, en definitiva no es tanto lo que gano, pero yo no soy una persona ambiciosa, lo económico para mí no es lo principal. Para mí lo importante es sentirse bien como persona. Y yo he aprendido mucho a crecer como persona. He aprendido a responder todas la necesidades que me han llegado y a la confianza que otros *peñis* tienen en mí. Y también he recibido mucho apoyo de ellos.

I enjoy working in Trekaleyin because I think it's a way of working amongst communities. Not all of them are involved, but there are some already, and doing this means that we support each other and we benefit together, and also that we learn. People learn new things through this work, and to organise ourselves too.

... I'm in this and I'm happy not because I get paid, ultimately it's not that much what I earn, but I'm not an ambitious person, the economic is not the main thing for me. For me the important thing is to feel good as a person. And I have learned so much and grown as a person. I have learned to respond to all the needs that have

come to me as well as to the trust others *peñis* have in me. And I have also received much support from them.

(3 February 2009)

The way in which Trekaleyin works also acknowledges the interdependence, pride and gratitude with other beings and forces, and the need to respect them. This relation is even at times more important than giving a “good service” according to tourist expectations, as Leonel, another guide, commented at a Trekaleyin meeting:

Cuando yo veo por primera vez a un turista, por la forma que se expresan uno ve si es gente respetuosa. Porque yo siempre que salgo con gente a los senderos antes les doy una recomendación. Para empezar les digo que existe la cordillera, los volcanes, el agua, el estero, el río, el lago, y que todos ellos tienen dueño, tienen *ngen*, que no están solos. Si bien son invisibles existen, y nosotros como Pewenche creemos en eso. Les digo que nadie puede andar haciendo desorden, y así uno va viendo en el camino si están cumpliendo lo que uno les advirtió o no. Por eso es difícil en el camino ir conversando más como dicen las encuestas de los turistas a veces, porque uno tiene que ir con respeto y además fijarse en la gente, ver cómo se van portando.

... Pero también es lindo, porque uno puede mostrar la riqueza, todas las cosas, los árboles, la montaña, las cascadas, todo lo que “el que está arriba” nos dio. Sentirlo y valorarlo, dar las gracias y compartirlo. Porque para mí sobre todo en los árboles yo encuentro siempre sabiduría y fuerza. Cuando tengo problemas me siento debajo y siento como que me hablan, como que si lloro ellos también lloran conmigo. Está esa fuerza que me calma, me ayuda a seguir adelante.

When I see for the first time a tourist, by the way they express themselves I can see if they are respectful people. Because always when I go out with people to the tracks, before leaving I give them a recommendation. To begin with I tell them there are mountains, volcanoes, water, creeks, rivers, lakes, and that they all have owners, have *ngen*, they are not alone. While they are invisible they exist, and we as Pewenche believe in that. I tell them that no one can go about doing disorder, and then one is looking along the way if they are behaving as advised or not. Therefore it's hard talking more on the way as the tourist surveys say sometimes, because you have to go with respect and also looking at the people, see how they are behaving.

... But it is also nice because you can show the richness, all the things, trees, mountains, waterfalls, all that “the one from above” gave us. Feeling and valuing it, give thanks and share them. Because for me especially I always find wisdom and strength in the trees. When I have problems I sit under a tree and I feel like they speak to me, if I cry they also cry with me. There is this force that calms me down, helps me to keep going.

(8 December, 2008)

This respect and consideration for special, sacred or dangerous places are also important to decide where to go or places to avoid with tourists. As Andrea, a member of Trekaleyin, observes:

Bueno, hay lugares que preferimos no ir, no llevar a los turistas, donde hay pantanos mañosos, o lugares que tienen alguna fuerza, un espíritu muy fuerte que lo mande, un *chenke* mañoso, o sectores en la montaña también. O algunas lagunas en las uno no se puede bañar porque puede haber algún “cuero”, un animal del agua que es peligroso. Mejor no ir a esas lagunas porque a los turistas les gusta bañarse, así que mejor evitar. Eso lo vamos viendo, para decidir bien antes de salir.

Well, there are places we’d rather not go, not take tourists, where there are complicated swamps, or places that have a force, a very strong spirit that dominate them, a tricky *chenke*, or areas in the mountains as well. Or some lagoons in which one cannot swim because there may be a “cuero”, a water animal that is dangerous. Better not to go to these lagoons because tourists like to swim, so it is best to avoid. We consider all this, to decide well before leaving.

(3 February 2009)

So considerations for people, natural and supernatural elements, as well as the desire to preserve their culture, shape the ways in which tourism is managed and controlled. They also influence the limits members of Trekaleyin put on the kinds of events they allow tourists and the number of visitors, which overrule economic ambitions. As Eusebio, a leader of Trekaleyin expresses:

Nosotros no vamos a llevar los turistas a un *Nguillatún* porque eso es sagrado, es un lugar de ceremonia. Aunque podría vender harto como en otras partes, pero nosotros decidimos que no. No queremos folclorizarnos porque hay que respetar lo nuestro, la cultura, lo sagrado, por lo hay que poner límites, reglas.

... [Por otro lado] el turismo ayuda a mantener la cultura, a darla a conocer, porque si uno no la cultiva de alguna forma puede desaparecer, y cada vez la gente sabe menos de la espiritualidad Mapuche. Por eso es importante destacar el valor espiritual que tiene nuestro pueblo, de cómo es nuestra relación con la madre tierra, con la naturaleza, lo que el *Chau Ngenchen* (dios) nos entregó, donde hay vida que es parte nuestra y somos parte de ella. El trabajo turístico está haciendo que nosotros volvamos a retomar esto, porque finalmente es algo que tenemos y que es valorable, nuestras cosas propias que son importante también mostrar, pero con cuidado. ... Y aprendemos [con el turismo], porque para explicarle a los turistas les preguntamos también a nuestros papás porqué es el nombre de un lugar, cuál es el cuento de este cerro o esa agua, esas cosas.

... Pero también por el tema del medio ambiente hay que tener cuidado. Todo lo que hacemos en la veranada con tanto cuidado, bueno, el turista igual lo hace porque anda acompañado con un guía, pero igual interviene. Nosotros somos bien cuidadosos en ese sentido, pero no ha sido una tarea fácil. Por eso queremos que los que lleguen acá sean pocos turistas pero buenos, que quieran aprender, conocer y que respeten. Que no sean demasiados porque si llegan muchos ya podría ser perjudicial. Es que nosotros no queremos instalar hoteles y más hoteles, grandes proyectos y mucha plata, porque eso no es lo que nos interesa. Nos interesa cuidar nuestro lugar, y mostrar cosas más tradicionales, nuestras, muchas cosas que tenemos.

We will not take tourists to a *Nguillatún* because that's sacred, a place of ceremony. Although it could sell a lot as is done in other places, but we decided not to do it. We don't want "folklorise" ourselves, because we must respect what is ours, the culture, the sacred, so we must set limits, rules.

... [Moreover], tourism helps to maintain the culture, make it known, because if we don't cultivate it, it can somehow disappear, and increasingly people know less about Mapuche spirituality. Therefore it's important to emphasise the spiritual values of our people, how is our relationship with Mother Earth, with nature, which the *Chau Ngenchen* (god) gave us, where there's life that is part of us and we are part of it. Working in tourism we're returning to this, because ultimately it's something we have and that's valuable, our own things, which are also important to show, but carefully. ... And we learn [with tourism], because to explain things to tourists we also ask our

parents why this is the name of a place, what is the story of this hill or that water, those kinds of things.

... But also due to environmental issues we have to be careful. Everything we do in the “veranada” with so much care, well, so does the tourist because she/he is accompanied by a guide, but still she/he intervenes. We are especially careful in this regard, but it has not been easy. So we want a few but good tourists to arrive here, who want to learn, know and respect. Not too many, because if there are too many it could be harmful. And it is because we don’t want to install hotels and more hotels, big projects and lots of money, because that is not what interests us. We are interested in taking care of our place, and show more traditional things, our things, many things we have.

(4 March 2009)

Eusebio suggests that tourism is a way to value, maintain, enact and transmit their culture within communities and with others. But as well as Leonel and Andrea, he is concerned by the possible negative effects of tourism and comments how as an organisation they try to tackle them, even if it limits their income. He asserts that it is not more and more “hotels, big projects and lots of money” that drives Trekaleyin, but rather their aim to protect and share their valuable place and culture. These concerns emerge from the responsibility Trekaleyin members assume for the wellbeing of the tourists, communities and their culture, as well as for the care of the environment, animals and spiritual beings. It is linked to values of respect, self-regulation and stewardship, and to understandings about good conduct (*nor felen*), where people are compelled to act in a wise, responsible and generous ways. It also speaks of the idea that personal and collective wellbeing is always linked to the balance and wellbeing of the places and people around them or *küme mongen*, and as Miguel also suggested, to the process of “growing as persons”, becoming wiser and better persons. These understandings mean that for Trekaleyin, as for other indigenous communities working in tourism, there is a “business philosophy that puts cultural integrity before the dollar” (Bunten, 2010 p. 296). Also, that those involved in tourism remain accountable to the whole community, including non-humans, due to the interconnectedness and interdependence of “being in common”. It means that the development of tourism involves complex and negotiated processes linked to money, reciprocity, respect, care, balance, pride and values, in which are involved all those that form part of the communities, including past and future generations, who have direct or indirect links with the elements involved in the tourism initiative. Therefore, as Bunten (2010 p. 295) has identified in other initiatives, tourism in indigenous communities involves “honouring the past while investing in the future”.

Trekaleyin and (communities) economy: A note of hope and a note of caution

As has been discussed previously, labelling tourism as merely a capitalist activity is problematic. In Alto Bío-Bío, as elsewhere, it is embedded in particular arrangements of productive and reproductive activities, transactions and forms of labour. These connections lead us to recognise the existence of “a thin veneer of capitalist economic activity underlain by a thick mesh of traditional practices and relationships of gifting, sharing, borrowing, volunteering, and reciprocated individual and collective work” (Gibson-Graham, 2005 p. 16). In line with the debates around *economía social y solidaria*, combining autonomy and cooperation, Trekaleyin is engaging in socio-productive practices shaped by emancipated labour and ownership of the means of production, where reciprocity, solidarity and equanimity are addressed in the construction of the economy. Doing so has important consequences as has expanded the kind of agency of its members (Cunca Bocayuva, 2009). This process highlights the recognition of the intricate entanglement of productive and reproductive activities, as well as the fragility of the notion of the “homo economicus” who only works on her/his own interests (Quiroga Díaz, 2009).

If we understand economy as constituted by multiple dimensions and elements, “profits” are equally diverse and hybrid. In the case of Trekaleyin, “returns” have to do with the abilities of community members to control their lives, futures and territories. Similarly to what Gibson-Graham (2006) has identified in Mondragón Cooperative Corporation, social goals of local employment, social welfare and cultural survival have taken precedence over (still important) business interests. Therefore Trekaleyin involves practising their indigenous identities and keeping alive their culture, languages and traditions, in a way in which they can control their representation on their own terms. It is about learning and growing as well as educating others, or at least trying to break negative stereotypes and prejudices, and to tell their story from their own point of view. It also entails enhancing their abilities and pride, along with collaboration and self-organisation. As part of a diverse, social and solidarity economic arrangement in which Mapuche-Pewenche ontologies provide a framework of values and codes of conduct, tourism -when done with respect and following the rules of the Pewenche *Az Mapu* -has been identified as a means towards keeping the balance within human, natural and cosmic forces, and to contribute to the wellbeing of people and communities. Therefore, exploring the communities’ “cultural” economies from a broader perspective as suggested by Amin and Thrift (2007; 2004), has allowed us to understand them as changing and contested arrangements, involving multiple dimensions, objects, values, relationships and aspirations, including

money but also reciprocity, support, envy, rancour, friendship, gossip, jealousy, trusteeship, teaching, learning, self-organisation, redistribution, autonomy and fun.

One must be careful, however, of not being too optimistic about the transformation that Trekaleyin is bringing to the communities. One of the main issues identified among the communities is the creation of new roles such as Trekaleyin leaders, guides or “track managers”, who are in charge of managing the work of Trekaleyin in each community. Together with material consequences, these new roles are also impacting -reinforcing or modifying- the status of people and families. Being a Trekaleyin leader, guide or track manager is linked to prestige, access to resources (including cash), and increased abilities to communicate and deal with outsiders and institutions. It also generates new, or reinforces long-standing issues of envy and jealousy among communities, which have been faced with different strategies that range from including those who complain about tourism to ignoring them. Even though differences among community members have always existed and tourism is not the only factor affecting them, it is indeed an important element of change and, besides the awareness and optimism of community members, it is hard to foresee the effects it will have in the future, in particular if tourism activity increases.

Remaining alert to the consequences of tourism does not necessarily lead to becoming paranoid or paralysed, which has been identified in the communities as attitudes that would increase their economic marginality. In a context of insecurity and rapid change, rejecting communitarian tourism does not ensure that something better or “less bad” will happen. Community leaders argue that by working cooperatively they can enact autonomy and territorial control and try to prevent other potentially more harmful activities. They can have a higher degree of control of the development of tourism in the area, and thus they can try to ensure the communities are benefited. Although problems will arise, they can aim to tackle them appropriately. In fact, that is precisely what motivates Eusebio, one of the main leaders of Trekaleyin, to take part in it. Receiving very little direct benefit or income through his work on Trekaleyin, and thus defying the “homo economicus” and highlighting hybrid and more-than-capitalist forms of labour and profit that inform tourism, his reasons for working in Trekaleyin deserves detailed attention.

Eusebio has been one of the main leaders of Trekaleyin for years, and spends much of his time in meetings, planning and management tasks. His involvement in tourism started around fifteen years ago when he opened a camping site near his house, where until today he receives families and groups. However, these tourists are often not interested in doing horseback riding trips for budget reasons. He also runs a “cocinería” or simple restaurant, where he offers food on request. Eusebio

does not work as a guide or track manager, and therefore the only income he receives from Trekaleyin is when he caters for big groups who cannot be catered for by the guides. However, Eusebio believes that the development of tourism directly or indirectly benefits everybody in the area, and that Trekaleyin helps to promote the Queuco valley. But more importantly, he thinks that having a strong Pewenche organisation working in tourism in the area, which is increasingly attractive for outsiders, can prevent the arrival of private tourist operators who would just be interested in “using” the territory for their own benefit, involving community members only as cheap labour and leading to their subordination and vulnerability. Or at least, he says, having an organisation like Trekaleyin could make this kind of private intervention more complicated and help to set its terms of operation, ensuring the benefit and control of the communities. Furthermore, Eusebio believes that tourism is an excellent avenue to reinforce Pewenche culture, the defence of their lands and the promotion of appropriate and “chosen” paths of development. He comments that the local government should support these kinds of organisations and defend the interests of the communities, but as he does not see it happening in the near future, and also based on his disappointment with formal politics and the state, he feels compelled to engage directly in Trekaleyin. Thus, as a collective initiative, Trekaleyin for Eusebio can provide a means to build de facto autonomy, self-organisation and territorial control, together with improving communities’ material conditions. As is often the case in Alto Bío-Bío and beyond, Eusebio’s commitment to Trekaleyin does not emerge from a mere monetary interest. It rather is a combination of desires and aspirations that include income generation to a certain degree, but mixed with political, cultural and territorial aspirations.

Therefore, acknowledging the range of values, beings, practices and hopes that inform and shape Trekaleyin and the diverse and solidarity economic arrangements of the communities, how can we understand the relation between community and market economic “realms”? Can they really be separated? If so, how and where would we draw the line?

Conclusion

Recent studies on tourism have investigated the multiple dimensions and connections that tourism has within indigenous communities, who articulate it in their particular economic arrangements, involving values and worldviews (Bunten, 2010; Spiller et al., 2010). But despite their contribution to a more nuanced understanding of tourism and communities’ economies, they tend to maintain the distinction between community and market economies as clear-cut and self-evident.

For instance, studying the experience of an indigenous community involved in tourism in Ecuador, Esteban Ruiz-Ballesteros and Macarena Hernández-Ramírez state that tourism is a multidimensional and hybrid phenomenon, as it is “another of the activities carried out in the community, both in terms of market logic and the logic of community relations of reciprocity, in a kind of dual economy” (2010 p. 206). This division between the “two economic realms”, also found in slightly different ways in the work of Bunten (2010) and Spiller (2010), is clearly informed by the dualist approach to community economies (Aitken, 2009; Gudeman, 2001). This distinction, however, has proved to be problematic, both in theoretical terms and when practically examining Trekaleyin. It not only fails to acknowledge the economy at all levels -and not only among indigenous peoples- as always hybrid, diverse and informed by culture, values and other processes (Amin and Thrift, 2007; Coraggio, 2009; Gibson-Graham, 2006), but also reinforces the stereotypical and uniform construction of communities (Blackstock, 2005), as well as static notions of the traditional versus the (Western) modern (Quijano, 2008). In Alto Bío-Bío, people conducting research in areas different from tourism have also resorted to this dualist trap and have argued that here these two logics are in conflict and produce detrimental results for the communities (see for example Azócar et al., 2005; González-Parra and Simon, 2009; Latta, 2009).

But after taking a more careful look at the work of Trekaleyin in this chapter, the distinction between communities and market economy becomes blurred and far from straight forward and pre-determined. As has been demonstrated before, tourism is embedded in of a temporary economic arrangement constituted by capitalist and non-capitalist elements, intertwined with a wide range of relationships, emotions, values and ontologies, that cannot be easily separated and are in constant negotiation. Furthermore, if we also take into account the varied contexts, histories and forms of leaderships within each community, the notion of a uniform “community logic” is further complicated. The diversity of the roles of the *lonko* and assemblies within the communities influences the way they work, as well as the ways in which tourism is managed and articulated in each community. In some communities the *lonko* is a key actor in decisions about tourism, and some even use tourism for their own political and territorial agendas, but in other cases the *lonko* plays only an advisory role.

Understanding community economies and ways of operating as diverse, and their relation to the market economy not in terms of the confrontation of well-defined and opposed systems, does not mean that there are not particularities in the ways in which the communities engage with the economy and tourism. It is precisely the acknowledgement of that “particularity” that has been

crucial for me in the search of a more nuanced understanding of the diverse and solidarity economies of the communities. But I believe that it is important to engage in this search trying to question the binary between community and market economy as two clearly distinct “realms”, and understand the economic arrangement they enact as particular, changing and contested processes of accommodation and creativity. In other words, it is important to recognise the real, performative, hybrid and negotiated character of economic arrangements, as has been asserted by Gibson-Graham (2006) and by proponents of the *economía social y solidaria* (Coraggio, 2009), which has implications that go well beyond the “local” (Marston et al., 2005; Amin and Thrift, 2004). As Ropata Taylor, manager of Maori-owned Wakatu Incorporation, said indigenous tourism can be a way to highlighting ways to “culturise commerce” more than just commercialising culture (quoted in Bunten, 2010 p. 304).

In this chapter I have explored how tourism is linked to development and economy among the communities of the Queuco valley. From a positive affective stance that more than judging seeks to recognise and support the initiative of the communities to construct another possible economy (Gibson-Graham and Roelvink, 2009), I have aimed to make visible and include knowledges, practices and ways of being that are usually erased from economic discourses or even denied altogether. This is evident, for instance, in many reports and studies about Alto Bío-Bío such as the Plan de Desarrollo Comunal (Ilustre Municipalidad de Alto Bío Bío, 2006) and others (see Azócar et al., 2005; Carrasco and Figueroa, 2003; Empresa Nacional de Electricidad SA, 1997). I have argued that tourism, when done with careful attention and respecting the rules of the *Pewenche Az Mapu*, can contribute to *kūme mongen* or good life, where, according to Ibacache Burgos (1997), development, equity, self-organisation and self-determination are key elements. For Trekaleyn this involves reclaiming history, controlling how they are represented, and defending territorial rights, cultural perpetuation and political sovereignty. As Sarah Wright, Sandie Suchet-Pearson, Kate Lloyd, Lak Lak Burarrwanga and Djawa Burarrwanga (2009) have argued, literature on indigenous tourism tends to focus only on economic issues relating to commercialisation and financial viability. Working with an Australian Aboriginal tourism initiative they have found, however, that economic aspects are important because they actually help to create and assert autonomy. Therefore, economic benefits cannot be understood in isolation as they “take their place alongside knowledge claims and ontological framings as part of a broader assertion of independence and self-determination” (p 522).

Throughout this chapter Alto Bío-Bío, rather than marked by lack and need as is usually represented, has been seen as a place where economic dynamism and innovation are mobilised in the search of appropriate ways to engage with the economy and development. In doing so, I have also

aimed to highlight the contributions of Mapuche and Pewenche knowledges to development and economic debates. As Raúl Rupailaf Maichin (2006) observes, by introducing the notions of *küme felen*, *küme mongen* and *ixofil mongen*, Mapuche perspectives provide more holistic and complex understandings of wellbeing as social, physical, spiritual and environmental balance, in which the individual, families, communities and the whole social network are involved. Indeed, Marimán and Aylwin (2008) have suggested that thinking about development from Mapuche perspectives, the concepts of *ixofil mongen* (harmony with nature) and *kizungunewal* (self-government, self-organisation) are crucial, emphasising the importance of the re-articulation of communities and collective organisations, along with a sustainable development based on territorial control. Communities, territorial identities, and Mapuche *kimün* (knowledges), then, are key in the project of decolonisation and creative engagement with economic and organisational initiatives, and must be addressed when thinking about the desired kind of life and the options taken.

Overall, understanding the diverse economic arrangement of the communities has allowed us to move towards a postcapitalist perspective (Gibson-Graham, 2006). Just as postdevelopment insinuates the possibility of a time when development is no longer the central organising principle of society, postcapitalism speaks of a situation in which capitalism is no longer the hegemonic form of economy (as in the capitalocentric frameworks of most political economies), where the domain of ‘the economy’ is not fully and ‘naturally’ occupied by capitalism but by an array of economies – solidarity, cooperative, social, communal, even criminal economies that cannot be reduced to capitalism” (Escobar, 2010 p. 12). Thus, for Escobar postcapitalism means the displacement of the hegemony of capitalism in the economy, a displacement that is not to be reached in the future but that is already being constructed in experiences such as Trekaleyin. But a project interested in the exploration and support of postcapitalism or other possible ways to articulate the economy, can also make important contributions to the present global crossroads. In Latin America, debates around the *economía social y solidaria*, *Buen Vivir*, and the rights of nature, have aimed to contribute to the urgent search for options to face the current economic, social and environmental global crisis. Among them, Edgardo Lander (2010) has recognised that we are facing a “crisis of a civilisation” that requires more than technical or expert knowledge and solutions, and that rather involve a change of paradigm, a deep transformation. It has been suggested that currently the “civilisational debate” that started with the Spanish conquest, has regained prominence in the last decades thanks to the prominence of indigenous and afro movements, entailing dialogues between diverse ontologies, political and environmental perspectives, and contributing to decolonisation (Santos, 2010).

These discussions are not a mere search for another type of alternative development. Rather they are questioning modernity and the conceptual bases for Western ideas about development and the economy (Gudynas, 2010). They represent a critique of Eurocentrism that, beyond resistance, is proposing ways to build more balanced, equitable, inclusive and diverse approaches, and to overcome colonial mentalities and their flawed structures (Bruckmann, 2010). These concepts and discussions have taken place among communities, social movements, academia and politics, and despite being contested, experimental and challenged by other sectors, they have steadily gained prominence. For instance, they were part of and informed the reforms of the political Constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia, and were addressed by the General Assembly of the United Nations with the adoption of a resolution titled “Armonía con la Naturaleza” (Harmony with Nature) in December 2010 as part of the debates on climate change.

Trekaleyin, from its specificity but also from its links and connections with broader issues that affect not only indigenous peoples, is creating a site of experimentation, practice and learning that can contribute to these discussions, and that allows me as a researcher and you as a reader to engage in this search. Tourism is being integrated into the diverse, hybrid and solidarity economies of the communities, articulating what the mainstream economy considers apparently unrelated elements, beings, practices and logics. Realising this co-constitution, transforms unthinkable aspects of modern epistemology and works towards a deeper level of decolonisation (De la Cadena, 2009). The construction of Trekaleyin has not been an easy process and has required a lot of courage, patience and collective reflection in order to deal with the tensions, uncertainties and contradictions that the communities are facing. Nevertheless, this experience points to forms of organising economy, society, and politics that, as Escobar (2010) has identified in other initiatives, can teach us of other, if not better, opportunities to dignify and protect human and non-human life. It helps to deconstruct the dualist ontology of modernity by emphasising “relationality and reciprocity; the continuity between the natural, the human and the supernatural (and between being, knowing and doing ...); the embeddedness of the economy in social life and the restricted character of the market; and a deeply relational worldview that shapes the notions of personhood, community, economy, and politics” (Escobar, 2010 p. 9). After having explored the communities of the Queuco valley and their diverse economic arrangements, in the next chapter I will explore in more detail the ways in which the communities are relating to the market and capitalist economy, and its implications for resistance, autonomy and the ways in which they participate in society.

CHAPTER 5

COMMODIFICATION, RESISTANCE AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP: THE INTERTWINED CONNECTIONS OF TREKALEYIN WITH THE MARKET



Trekaleyin guide “taking back” a picture
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha?

Introduction

In 2010, Trekaleyin was deemed to be one of the most innovative economic and social initiatives in Chile. It was the only finalist from the Bio Bío Region in the renowned Avonni National Awards, which receives more than 450 applications per year (Red de senderos turísticos entre los proyectos más innovadores del país, 2010). This award, organised and sponsored by corporations, the

media, academics, research centres, industry leaders (“dirigentes gremiales”) and government representatives, seeks to acknowledge and promote innovation for the “economic and social progress of Chile”, and considers initiatives ranging from design and energy, to sciences and marketing (Avonni, n. d.). How was it that Trekaleyin became one of the finalists of such an award? How is it possible that a tourist initiative conducted by a group of Pewenche community members in Alto Bío-Bío, Chile’s poorest comuna (Ministerio de Planificación, 2010) and also an icon of indigenous resistance, made it onto the finalist list of such a competitive national prize? What makes their project so innovative? Although Avonni prize’s jury praised Trekaleyin’s unique services and business strategy, I argue that what makes it so interesting in economic, social and other respects, are the ways in which community members are reworking the market and their participation in it, involving decolonisation and the re-articulation of self-determination, citizenship and development.

Although contested, there has been a tendency amongst academic work to depict the global market economy as an external force almost always detrimental for indigenous peoples (Hugh-Jones, 1992; Lu, 2007). In addition, despite being considered as a suitable development option for indigenous groups living in marginalised conditions (Scheyvens, 2002; Ryan and Aicken, 2005), tourism is also commonly seen as highly problematic for a number of reasons, mainly because of its allegedly exploitative and degrading nature (Butcher, 2007; Pleumaron, 1994). Both views have been argued to be the case of Mapuche people in Chile. Some have suggested that the Mapuche are currently so involved in the market economy that Mapuche “culture” as such no longer exists (Saavedra, 2002). For others, tourism has been viewed with suspicion and even rejected altogether by Mapuche organisations, such as Ad Mapu that in the early 1980s already declared it a harmful activity (Marimán et al., 2006b).

But despite common representations of indigenous peoples as “outside” the market (Andolina et al., 2009), the engagement of the Mapuche people with capitalism in general, and of the communities in Alto Bío-Bío in particular, is not new. Since colonial times Mapuche communities and individuals have been engaged in commercial exchanges, first with the Spaniards and later with the Chileans. Although this engagement has been largely to the detriment of the Mapuche communities, and together with colonisation and other factors has contributed to dispossession, pervasive levels of poverty and the environmental degradation of Mapuche communities (Calbucura, 2009; Marimán, 2002a; Toledo Llancaqueo, 2006a), I argue that currently tourism is one of the capitalist activities from which these communities can obtain economic and more-than-economic benefits. It is true that they remain dependent on the arrival of tourists and on market prices and

expectations, but unlike the other activities where they only sell their labour or their products (handicrafts, pewén nuts, livestock, etc), in tourism they have a greater ability to manage production, commercialisation and self-representation, particularly when done as a collective enterprise that involves participatory and communitarian spaces.

I have examined in the previous chapter how tourism is linked to different practices, networks and ontologies that constitute the diverse and solidarity economies of the communities in Alto Bío-Bío. In this section, drawing on the work of de Néstor García Canclini and Michel de Certeau, I will turn my attention to the ways in which the links with the market and capitalist economy, although also changing and hybrid concepts that are not free of controversies and potentially negative effects, can paradoxically present an opportunity for re-appropriation, resistance and increased autonomy, modifying the ways in which community members participate in society. In order to do this, I will address two of the most common concepts used in discussions around the involvement of indigenous peoples in the market economy and tourism: commodification and resistance. Examining these key issues, I aim to call into question and search for a more nuanced understanding of the implications of the market among indigenous communities. I suggest that, far from being complacent and subjected to an almighty market, members of Trekaleyin are actively engaged in a process of reworking the market economy that is also transforming their identities and the meanings of citizenship and entrepreneurship, with consequences that extend to more-than-local levels.

First, I will look at discussions around commodification, particularly in experiences of indigenous tourism, in order to later explore how it is taking shape in Trekaleyin and its implications. Then, I will examine the notion of resistance and how the communities are expanding their forms of resistance through their involvement in tourism and the market economy. Finally, I will consider the impacts that both, commodification and resistance through tourism, are having in the ways in which community members participate in society and perform citizenship. Because this chapter deals with the ways Trekaleyin engages with the so called “external” economy, I chose to draw mainly on material and texts through which Trekaleyin explicitly aims to communicate and present itself to external actors, such as their website, TV interviews and public speeches to tourists.

Commodification: From selling oneself to enabling re-appropriation

Commodification has been one of the main concepts used to understand the effects of tourism, in particular among indigenous cultures, places and peoples. In general, past studies have tended to suggest that the commercialisation of identities and places involved in tourism brings negative consequences (Cole, 2007). Certainly, commodification has proved to be problematic in many cases, and there is great value in the critical work done in this respect. Most research in the area, however, has failed to acknowledge the positive aspects or experiences of commodification. This is because commodification has been usually seen in reductionist terms and understood as a one-way process, ignoring other linked and complex processes (Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez, 2010). Also, Eurocentric perspectives have often precluded better understandings of the ways in which local or indigenous communities make use of these processes (Cole, 2007).

A more cautious and integrative approach can help to understand how commodification, and in general the engagement with the market, can in some ways help to modify and re-create cultural identities and strengthen resistance and political demands. Such an approach must begin with a careful consideration of the way we understand this engagement with the market. Néstor García Canclini (1996), provides interesting insights in this respect, moving beyond ideas that consumption or the market are dominated by irrational compulsions or mere greed, and proposing that they actually help us “to think”. He understands the market as a space for constructing oneself, for relating to others and for constructing meaning. Therefore consumption is not a private, atomised or passive act, but rather an always social activity that entails possibilities for participation, for being “citizens”, expanding the scope of what is considered to be the public space. As he writes:

When we recognise that when we consume we also think, select, and reelaborate social meaning, it becomes necessary to analyse how this mode of appropriation of goods and signs conditions more active forms of participation than those that are grouped under the label of consumption. In other words, we should ask ourselves if consumption does not entail doing something that sustains, nourishes, and to a certain extent constitutes a new mode of being citizens. If your answer is yes, it becomes necessary to accept the premise that public space overflows the sphere of classic political interactions (García Canclini, 2001 p. 26).

This way to understand the engagement with the market as an active, social act, through which we rework who we are, our position in the world, how we relate to others and how we

participate, construct and become part of society (García Canclini, 1996), resonates with some of de Certeau's ideas, in particular with his notion of "tactics". Similar to García Canclini's idea that by consuming or participating in the market we construct new meanings and rework ourselves, society and the market itself, de Certeau's (1984) notion of tactics refers to the ways in which people can "consume" ideas, goods or practices that have been externally produced or imposed, transforming and reworking them according to their own perspectives and interests. De Certeau refers to a process of "construction", where by using and appropriating things (including the ones we have not much option to avoid, such as the market), people can indeed manipulate them and give them new meanings, thus subverting them by using them for different ends rather than by rejecting them. Furthermore, he argues that by focusing on the ways in which these tactics and processes of re-appropriation work, we can realise the political dimension of everyday practices.

Thus, if we understand the market as a place where identities, social meanings and participation are reworked, and that we can use, appropriate and transform things and ideas (including the market and tourism) according to our own ends and meanings, we can begin to open some space to explore commodification in more sophisticated ways. If we overcome the tendency to understand the engagement of communities with the market as a passive one, we can see how in Trekaleyn, by commodifying everyday activities, experiences and objects such as travelling along ancient paths, food, houses, and even their identities as Pewenche people, community members can see them "with different eyes", and thus re-articulate them to defend their identity, culture and autonomy. With this in mind, I will first explore what commodification entails and some of its main issues and processes, and then examine how commodification is taking place in Trekaleyn and its consequences.

Definitions and issues

Commodification has been defined as "a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices form a market" (Cohen, 1988 p. 380). In tourism, usually the first question researchers ask in regards to commodification is what happens to the other meanings that things and activities have for locals (Stronza, 2001). Although Erik Cohen (1988) recognised more than two decades ago that the commodification of cultural elements does not necessarily destroy their other

meanings, until now a considerable number of work has focused on demonstrating the opposite (Hall, 1994). This critical stance was first developed in the seminal work of Davydd Greenwood (1977), who studying the “alarde” festival in Fuenterrabia, Basque Country, suggested that after its inclusion in tourism, the festival lost its cultural and symbolic meaning for the local community, becoming meaningless outside the touristic context.

Not denying the validity of this argument, it is also important to recognise that tourism and commodification can also constitute a process by which a “new layer of meaning” is added to objects, practices, identities and places. However, the addition of this new “layer of meaning” that comes from commodifying these elements does not take place in a vacuum, but is embedded in continuous historical processes of hybrid and changing social relationships and practices. Current uses and meanings, with or without tourism, are not the reflection of a pristine or pure state, but are always the result of a long history of negotiations, transformations and combinations (García Canclini, 1996). Tourism, then, can be seen as one of the latest elements in these processes of hybridisation and change, and as such, when examining the commodification processes it entails, it is important to avoid the essentialising of communities and cultures. Also, it becomes necessary to take into account issues of control and the tactical uses that these communities might be making of tourism, particularly if they are in a context of marginalisation such as in Alto Bío-Bío.

Another common concern related to the commodification of cultural elements has been the potential loss or erosion of the cultural identity of local communities. Amanda Stronza (2001) observes that most authors see this as acculturation happening either by the adoption of new elements and lifestyles learnt from outsiders, or by the lowered self-esteem resulting from the interaction with outsiders and the commodification of local culture. Also identity can be affected when people tend to conform according to the stereotypes and expectations of the “tourist gaze” (Urry, 1990) and perform a “staged authenticity” in order to better sell themselves to tourists (MacCannell, 1973). Therefore, often discussions about commodification also involve issues of authenticity and tend to reproduce judgemental and essentialising discourses (Gibson, 2010; Sheller and Urry, 2004; Hall and Brown, 2008; Cohen, 1988; Brown and Hall, 2008; Cole, 2007). As my aim is not to evaluate the quality (ie: authenticity) of what is shared with tourists, but to understand the processes in which commercial encounters are involved, I will not engage in this thesis with these discussions about authenticity.

The commodification of identities and cultures has also been questioned on the grounds that it can reinforce exploitative capitalist relations, where people and places are “sold” based on their

exotic characteristics (West and Carrier, 2004; Gray and Campbell, 2007), and thus racism is institutionalised and commodified (Munt, 1994). Tourism, then, can promote subservience and the subordination of hosts, and the aesthetisation of the lives and places of others, including even brutal realities such as war or poverty, which are “consumed” for being “different” (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Also, the commodification of “exotic” cultures can force communities to remain frozen in time, “in case ‘they’ lose what ‘we’ want” (Meethan, 2001 p. 110). Thus, tourism has often been identified as another means of colonialism and imperialism (Hall, 1994; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Robinson, 2001; Cater, 2007), where unequal relations of power continue to determine and exploit Third World or marginalised communities and their cultures.

These ways to understand commodification and its effects in tourism have usually been based on structuralist approaches that draw on dependency theories. Although they have highlighted important issues, they have been questioned by poststructural researchers within both tourism and development studies for oversimplifying tourism and assuming that it is inherently exploitative of local people and places, neglecting the agency and ways in which local people actually negotiate and respond to tourism (Scheyvens, 2002). In this regard, they argue that locals must not be seen as “passive victims, caught unaware as they lose themselves and their culture to commodification and the intrusive gaze of outsiders” (Stronza, 2001 p. 273). Although communities and individuals are indeed located within a globalised tourist economy that shapes their options (Bianchi, 2009), it is important to also see how people make choices according to their livelihoods strategies, needs and possibilities, and can indeed become empowered by their integration into the capitalist system, as Irena Ateljevic and Stephen Doorme (2003) have identified for women craft producers in China. Therefore, the geographies of tourism and development need to address the location of tourism within the context of capitalist development, balancing structure and agency in order to understand it as a space of transaction in which global and local processes are reworked and negotiated (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Palomino-Schalscha, in press).

By looking at the ways in which communities appropriate and use tourism for their own ends, research has shown that in some cases commodification can bring positive outcomes. Together with an improved economic situation, many studies have shown that tourism can help to reinforce identity, increase self-awareness and pride, and strengthen the control of self-representation and the ability for people to tell their own story (Cohen, 1988; Guneratne, 2001; MacDonald, 1997; Mansperger, 1995; Medina, 2003; Stephen, 1991; Stronza, 2001; Van den Berghe, 1994), which provides resources for communities to advance their political demands (Adams, 1995; Bunten, 2010;

Cole, 2007; Ryan and Aicken, 2005). As an extensive body of literature has shown, however, this is not always the case. So, why is that that tourism and commodification sometimes lead to exploitation and loss of culture and other times to empowerment and cultural revitalisation? What makes the difference? This is a pressing question that requires a detailed examination of how commodification comes into being, the processes it involves and who “controls” it.

The intertwined processes of commodification and re-appropriation

In their study of “turismo comunitario” (communitarian tourism) with indigenous communities in Ecuador, Ruíz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez (2010) offer a detailed examination of how commodification is being worked out by the communities, and why it is allowing them to become empowered by it. They state that commodification requires the “objectification” of everyday experiences, things and places in order to be able to transform them into commodities. Objectification, then, changes the ways people relate to elements of their everyday life and involves a process of looking at them from a different perspective, “from without”, or at least with a different purpose. Although Ruíz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez consider community members as the only actors involved in this process, among the communities of Alto Bío-Bío objectification is a highly negotiated process, in which tourists and institutions also play key roles. What appeals to tourists, what they value, ask and comment on while in the communities, as well as the opinions and suggestions of institutions supporting Trekaleyn, inform and influence the ways in which community members engage in this process of defining these “new characteristics” of objects and places.

But what is more interesting for Ruíz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez, is the parallel process of appropriation that takes place while things are being objectified. When appropriation and commercialisation are done by external actors such as tourism operators or even closed groups among communities that “appropriate” these “objectified elements” to market them, tourism can lead to negative effects commonly identified in the literature as dispossession and exploitation. However, when done more inclusively and reflexively by the communities, they can “appropriate” these elements in more empowering ways, which could explain the different outcomes of commodification in different situations. Consequently, if communities engage in “appropriation” through a collective and negotiated process, they are themselves (although in relations with others) objectifying their surroundings, culture and objects, and thus becoming more aware and appropriating them from

renewed feelings of belonging and ownership. These modified relationships to these elements can have positive consequences as the communities can re-articulate their identities, culture, and economies, as well as their rights and territorial demands. Thus, appropriation “is linked with both the symbolic and material dimension (if, that is, they can ever be separated); with both the feeling of belonging to an environment and a culture, and the attitude that territory and customs are owned; with both projecting oneself and identifying oneself in features, landscapes and particularities ... Hence appropriation is identified in discourses and in practices; it is as everyday as it is exceptional, and constitutes both a feeling and an interest, guiding action and position in the market” (Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez, 2010 p. 214).

I find Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez analysis very compelling and useful in understanding the experience of Trekaleyin, but I prefer the use of the term re-appropriation instead of only appropriation. As the prefix “re” means “once more, afresh, anew” (Soanes and Stevenson, 2006 p. 1195), I find re-appropriation a more fitting word because I recognise that the communities have pre-existing connections of ownership and belonging with these elements, and that what is happening with tourism and commodification is its modification and the addition of a new way to relate to them, or a “new layer of meaning”. Also, Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez argue that these processes of objectification and appropriation occur prior to the “selling”, but I see them as on-going processes, in permanent construction through interactions with others, such as tourists and supporting institutions, who are constantly influencing what is shared with tourists and the ways in which the communities relate to these elements. Finally, if we take into account the inherent complexities of “communities” as non-homogeneous entities, important questions emerge such as who has the right to appropriate these elements that, moreover, are usually part of the collective property of communities (Bunten, 2010); who authorises their use and for what purpose (Ryan and Aicken, 2005); and how do these processes take place. With these questions in mind, I will now explore the ways in which commodification and its associated processes are being developed in the communities through their involvement in tourism.

Trekaleyin and commodification for resistance

In Trekaleyin, commodification and appropriation have proved to be complex processes. As discussed in the previous chapter, although it does not involve everybody directly in the Queuco valley, Trekaleyin members are careful and try to act in a collective and inclusive way. They have

aimed to extend the benefits of tourism to more than just a few, and follow appropriate protocols and procedures involving traditional and functional leaders, as well as communitarian assemblies. But despite the fact that tourism and commodification remain problematic and are not necessarily accepted by everybody in the communities, at least overall they have agreed that tourism can be done in their territories, and members of Trekaleyin remain accountable for their activities to their communities. Malla Malla for instance, the only community that has decided not to be involved in tourism, has never objected its development by the other communities.

Tourism and commodification are in fact modifying the ways the communities understand their own identities and relate to their places. With tourism they are “objectifying” the experiences of the horseback riding trips into their mountains in order to “sell them” to tourists, including places, activities, food, nature and elements of their culture and identities. As was suggested before, objectification has been a negotiated process, involving the communities, (potential and actual) tourists and staff members from supporting institutions. Together, these different perspectives and voices have helped to identify the most suitable places, objects and experiences to share with tourists, and the ways the communities have chosen to describe them, which illustrated in the following two quotes. The first one is from Ñaña Rocío speaking at a meeting involving members of Trekaleyin and some institutions, and the second one is from Miguel, a Trekaleyin guide during an interview:

A mí me gusta recibir turistas y ver que son como cabros chicos ... disfrutan tanto y comparan con su vida en la ciudad los cerros, todo lo de acá, que es tan distinto. Hace que uno todos los días lo vea como diferente también.

I like to host tourists and see that they are like kids ... they enjoy so much and compare with their lives in the city the hills, everything we have here, that is so different. It makes that each day one also see these things differently.

(17 December 2008)

Si, Carlos (profesional de una ONG) nos conversa harto y así han salido varias buenas ideas, como eso de hacer un plan en otoño para llevar turistas a piñonear por ejemplo, que es algo que les gusta a ellos. Porque nosotros nos enfocamos siempre en lo del verano, pero igual es bueno buscar así más oportunidades.

Yes, Carlos (NGO staff members) talks to us a lot and this way many good ideas have emerged, such as the one of having a plan for autumn to take tourists to gather the Pewén nuts for instance, that is something they like. Because we always focus on summer, but it is good anyway to search for more opportunities.

(3 February 2009)

As Ñaña Rocío and Miguel acknowledge, to a large extent it is “difference” what tourists look for. Pewén trees, mountains, ancestral trails, culture, gods, mother earth, daily work and legends are all important and common elements in everyday life in the communities. However, their commodification is what makes tourism in Alto Bío-Bío appealing and competitive as tourism business. Therefore, in order to attract visitors, members of Trekaleyin have developed a touristic discourse that highlights their uniqueness, and presents these elements as exciting and worth knowing, as this excerpt from Trekaleyin website suggests:

Dive into the depths of Pewenche culture and discover a unique experience within the traditions of the people from the Pewén tree (*Araucaria araucana*).

Be a witness of ancestral trails that for thousands of years have crossed the majestic mountains and stunning landscapes. Discover legends and myths that are still part of everyday life of the Pewenche people .

Explore magical *Araucaria araucana* forests that have always been our most faithful companions. Join us in the daily work while sharing a mate or making bread. Venture, on foot or horseback riding in the search of forgotten places, with the permission of the gods, and the wisdom of mother earth.

In each one of the communities of Butalebún, Trapa Trapa, Pitril and Cauñicú you can find a unique offer of all-inclusive tours. Also, if you need a trip made to your own needs, please contact us to arrange your visit. (Trekaleyin, n. d., see also Appendix 1: Trekaleyin website)

Although this representation articulated by Trekaleyin has involved resorting to and complying with “exotic” imaginaries of the indigenous, as well as of their “wild and untouched” territories (West and Carrier, 2004), community members also consciously subvert them by, for instance, choosing to include in their interactions with tourists “modern” and everyday elements

such as cell-phones and TVs, wearing their everyday (non-traditional) clothes, refusing to do cultural performances or dances, as making use of humour and sarcasm. But beyond issues of exoticism, this representation of the communities and their territories as “traditional and pristine” to appeal to tourists, as Ruiz-Ballesteros and Hernández-Ramírez (2010) would argue, is involving a new way to relate to them. It entails constructing them as special and appealing. Thus they acquire new meanings and characteristics for the communities. Their identities as Pewenche are being re-constructed and re-worked in a process that has involved reflecting on what it means to be Pewenche, how they want to talk about themselves, their communities and territories, what is special and unique, what do tourists like and expect, as well as what must be respected and not disturbed by tourism. Thus, it is allowing for their re-appropriation and articulation with community members’ broader interests and agendas, which include asserting their roles, rights, connections and aspirations, as this other excerpt of Trekaleyin website demonstrates:

We are the people of Pewén and this is our land. From earliest times we were the only witnesses of the magnificent mountains, clear rivers, lagoons, mysterious and ancient forests that make up our territory, known to you as Alto Bío-Bío.

... We are a Pewenche organisation that, through community tourism, aims to share and give value to activities we have traditionally carried out since times immemorial in our summer highlands or “veranadas” in the Andes Mountains in Alto Bío-Bío.

We aim to improve the economic situation of our families by developing an activity that is respectful of the traditions of our territory, and its cultural and natural heritage.

... Our Network tries to promote our own development through community tourism, with the active, democratic and permanent participation of our members. We have a Directorate where the different communities are represented, and we always try to share the benefits of our activities with more families in our territory.

... Our challenge is huge and our path has not been free of difficulties. However, we trust our *Newén* (strength) to make our dreams come true, build a better future for our children and contribute towards tolerance and the valuing of cultural diversity in our country (Trekaleyin, n. d., see also Appendix I: Trekaleyin website)

This quote raises many important issues. The first is the communities’ assertion of their connections to their territories. They are highlighting their on-going, ancestral and contested relations with their territories, from which their right to declare it “their land” emerges. This refers to

the continuity between their ancestors and their current uses and struggles, and the role of tourism in the persistence of this struggle. Second, they refer to their aspirations to respect and protect their culture and environment. Third, they are communicating their aims for development and enhancing their material situation from a Pewenche and “empowered” perspective. As this quote shows, this entails revaluing their “traditional” activities and knowledges “carried out since times immemorial”, from a collective stance that involves sharing, collaboration and “democracy”, along with the acknowledgment of the role of supernatural forces or *nwenes*. And fourth, they are stating their desire and ability to influence not only their own lives but also the wider society. They speak of building a better and more tolerant future, and of having to deal with difficulties. Therefore, by re-appropriating their lives, culture and territories, their opportunities to improve their wellbeing, share their history from their own perspective and contribute to society are being expanded. The discourses and processes of re-appropriation that tourism is allowing then, are thus being linked to their broader and on-going demands for respect, autonomy and for being “protagonists” of their own development.

Although it is important to keep in mind that there is also a degree of hesitation with regards to commodification among those community members who for instance feel it can open new avenues for further dispossession, or are just not interested in it, tourism, as a new “layer of meaning”, is enhancing communities’ sense of belonging, continuity and rights, and is clearly embedded in pre-existing networks, meanings and practices. Thus, engaging with the market is providing in Alto Bío-Bío an opportunity to what García Canclini (1996) refers as “to think”, or in other words, to choose and to construct the self, relations with others and social meaning. He affirms that objects and practices sold in the market are assigned many other functions and meanings, that together can be used to integrate and differentiate from others, as well as to define our situation in the world and seek continuity and/or change. He gives the examples of a mask crafted by an indigenous person as a ceremonial object, later sold to a “modern” consumer and finally displayed at an urban apartment or a museum, or a song composed for aesthetic reasons that is then appropriated by a political movement and becomes a sign of collective identification. But as is also the case of Trekaleyin, according to García Canclini (1999) what is important is not that these elements are “sold” or used in different contexts, or even the fact that they are being subjected to adaptations, as after all past and current uses are also the result of many previous transformations. What is crucial for him, are the conditions in which these processes and transformations occur and the ends and meanings involved, which have political consequences as affect the ways in which people and communities participate in society. For him the transition from consumers (or producers in the case of Trekaleyin) to what he calls citizens (people actively participating in public space) is possible because of the reflection and

experimentation with the multiple potentialities of objects and practices, and the ways in which they can be used for social construction. If we look at the experience of Trekaleyin carefully, we can see how not only they have been successfully attempting to control the commodification of their culture and places to generate their re-appropriation and an effective source of income. In the quotes from the Trekaleyin website, we can also see how the new meanings articulated through the market economy are being used to construct themselves as political subjects. Thus, although the market economy has had dramatic consequences in Alto Bío-Bío, and still poses important threats in the form of land usurpation and geothermic, mining, hydroelectric and forestry projects, the communities involved in Trekaleyin are being able to engage with it for the advancement of their own agendas. Due to their disappointment with conventional political confrontations, rather than opposing it openly, and complying with it to an extent, community members have engaged with the market in “tactical” ways, to use de Certeau’s (1984) terms, appropriating, transforming and subverting it in order to affirm their autonomy and rights, to strengthen their organisation and collaboration, and to re-create relationships among communities as well as with external actors. It is being used to imagine and enact their development, bringing together Pewenche *kimüm* (wisdom, knowledges), creativity and innovation, becoming also more visible and empowered citizens.

The reformulation of cultures and places through the engagement with the market economy, is seen by García Canclini (1996) as a crucial process in which ideas about modernity, tradition, and indigeneity are being negotiated. For him this negotiation is particularly relevant in Latin America’s long history of mixings and syncretism, and represents a “mode of existence”, an intrinsic process by which groups and communities re-construct multicultural, hybrid and ductile identities, developed collectively in everyday life (García Canclini, 1996). But what is more interesting and relatively recent in Latin America, is the increased awareness and intention to address this negotiation explicitly as part of political agendas. This has been particularly important in the search for new development paths such as the discussions around Buen Vivir, the rights of Nature (Acosta and Martínez, 2009), and the *economía social y solidaria* Emphasising negotiation and refusing to “waste” experience and wisdom (Santos, 2003), alternatives are built that constitute both a proposition and a resistance. These propositions/resistances, as is suggested by the experience of Trekaleyin, are enacted in everyday and tactical ways, and involve the reformulation of the means to participate in society and to coexist in diversity. We are faced, then, with a kind of resistance that emphasises negotiation and hybridisation, and thus would be poorly understood if we try to in terms of domination versus submission. So, what do we mean by resistance then? How can we understand it for the case of Trekaleyin? In the next section I will explore de Certeau’s ideas of power and resistance, another key

concept that has tended to be understood in simplistic or self-evident ways among tourism studies (Church and Coles, 2007).

Resistance and entrepreneurship in Alto Bío-Bío

De-romanticising resistance: Resistance as transformative practices

Nigel Thrift (1997 p. 124) has expressed his discomfort with the word resistance because it implies a “David versus Goliath romanticism [which] has one very distinct disadvantage: everything has to be forced into the dichotomy of resistance or submission and all the paradoxical effect which cannot be understood in this way remains hidden”. Therefore, he proposes to search for ways to understand resistance in “less fundamentalist ways”, for which he finds the work of Michel de Certeau particularly helpful. De Certeau (1984) focuses on how everyday practices can challenge dominant orders, allowing us to see resistance not necessarily as heroic acts but as everyday practices and modes of being. Thus, according to Thift (1997), de Certeau’s work encourages an account of the world of constant dialogue and negotiation, in line with García Canclini’s ideas of negotiation and hybridisation as “modes of existence” in Latin America.

Resistance has been understood in different ways in geography and beyond. Since the late 1970s, the rise of postcolonial and feminist geographies increased among geographers the interest in studying resistance less as dramatic events and more in the everyday forms in which non-dominant groups manage to survive, and how they challenge their conditions of domination, which later became a key topic of the cultural turn in geography (Griffin, 2010). James Scott’s (1985) work on the “weapons of the weak” was very influential in this everyday approach to resistance. He identified the subtle and continued everyday practices by which Malay peasants construct their resistance by individual acts of insubordination and evasion, what he later called the “hidden transcripts of infrapolitics” (Scott, 1990). But for Scott this resistance occurs within the domains of domination, which was questioned by de Certeau who argued that these everyday tactics of resistance come from outside and aim to “insinuate” themselves into this realm of domination (Griffin, 2010). Thus, de Certeau’s work enlarged the possibilities for understanding the “micro-political processes by which people ‘make’ postcolonial modes of governance and ‘make do’ in the face of their disorder” (Napolitano and Pratten, 2007 p. 8).

De Certeau's attention to micro and everyday politics emphasises "what happens beneath the panoptic apparatus" and, unlike Michel Foucault whose analysis of micro-power focuses on the ways in which people subject and discipline themselves, de Certeau highlights the diverse and creative forms of enacting resistance and subversive agency (Cupples, 2009 p. 111). For de Certeau, then, focusing only on the modes of domination understates the agency of common people, or as he expresses:

[the] elucidation of the apparatus [of repression] by itself has the disadvantage of not seeing practices which are heterogeneous to it and which it represses or thinks it represses. Nevertheless, they have every chance of surviving this apparatus too, and, in any case, they are also part of social life, and all the more resistant because they are more flexible and adjusted to perpetual mutation (De Certeau, 1984 p. 41, emphasis in original).

Therefore, for de Certeau, resistance is more about the stubborn, persistent and everyday uses and ways of operating of common people than spectacular antagonisms (Highmore, 2002). To understand how power operates he refers to two key concepts: the strategies of the powerful and the tactics of the weak. In contrast to strategies that are deployed by the dominant or powerful who can control and organise space in premeditated ways, tactics are "the ruses that take the predisposition of the world and make it over, that convert it to the purposes of ordinary people" (Crang, 2000 p. 137). Tactics build resistance through numerous small and everyday transformations, adaptations and appropriations that subvert this imposition of authority and power, and that therefore depend more on time and opportunities than on space (Crang, 2000). But de Certeau's work has been criticised for its depiction of a rigid opposition between the official or powerful, and the everyday, weak or popular, and for failing to recognise processes of complicity and consensus (Napolitano and Pratten, 2007). Also, it has been said that he overestimates resistance and tactics, which can lead to conceptual saturation and politically naïve readings (Abal Medina, 2007). However, in her research on Nicaraguan elections, Cupples (2009) observes that these critiques misrepresent one of the main contributions of de Certeau to understandings of how power works. For her, De Certeau's distinct contribution is his assertion that the strategies of the powerful cannot be seen as totalising power, as they are subject to destabilisation and contestation by processes of manipulation and hybridisation, or as she says, the ways in which people "make sense and use of a system they have not produced through their own signifying practices that operate within, alongside and in opposition to the scriptural economy" (Cupples, 2009 p. 117).

These ideas around resistance have important consequences, as they highlight the incompleteness of any strategy of domination and the possibility to transform what exists, defying asymmetries and stagnation, and emphasising how everyday creativity can disrupt and affirm differences (Abal Medina, 2007). It also emphasises the dynamism of exercising power by not reducing it to either resistance or compliance, but acknowledging it as a more “hybrid action that emerges from the interweaving of complex social and political relationships” (Cupples, 2009 p. 121). Therefore, de Certeau’s ideas can help us to move beyond romantic and essentialist views of resistance as the fight between dominated versus the oppressors, the powerless and the powerful, and the local versus the global. As Thrift (1997) suggests, they allow us to understand resistance more as “transformative practices” through which tensions are reworked. Although notions of hegemony and oppression continue to be important, if we interpret resistance just in those terms we miss its complexities, but more importantly, we tend to construct and reinforce simplistic and pessimistic views. In these pessimistic views, people are seen as struggling against structures that exist “out there”, which has the double effect of making all battles seem small and feeble, and of rendering those structures as powerful and immovable. But if we approach resistance as transformative practices instead, we are able to realise the hybrid and malleable processes of negotiation through which resistances are already being enacted, even in the space of the market (García Canclini, 1996).

I find this perspective on power and resistance very useful to understand how Trekaleyin, though commodification, re-appropriation and “tactical” engagement with the market, is opening spaces for difference, negotiation and resistance. Together with this notion of resistance, if we also recognise the performative character of the economy, and instead of seeing it as monolithic and fixed, understand it as a plurality of practices, things, knowledges, aspirations, values and demands (Amin and Thrift, 2004; Coraggio, 2009; Roelvink and Gibson-Graham, 2009), we have enough theoretical tools to understand why and how Trekaleyin is being such an innovative and successful mode of resistance, with consequences that go beyond the “local” and influence the whole society.

In fact, current research in geography has attended to the ways in which movements are often using a variety of tactics that combine overt protests and demonstrations with other practices that are not traditionally recognised as mobilisation (Griffin, 2010). Although Trekaleyin is not a social movement itself, it is a Pewenche tourism organisation actively engaged in the construction of resistance as transformative practices that through its engagement with the market economy aims to reinforce autonomy, territorial control and wellbeing in broad and integral terms. Understanding

resistance as transformative practices of appropriation and negotiation, we can understand why Trekaleyin does not aim to seize power, to overthrow a dominant order, or even to take part in conventional politics for the advancement of their autonomy and wellbeing. Like other organisations in the Americas such as the Zapatistas, they are primarily concerned with social re-construction, directing their efforts towards self-organisation and self-representation, creating and using new spaces and relations (González et al., 2010). As Verónica explained in the quote in Chapter 3 (see pages 88 to 91) with regards to difficulties members of Trekaleyin find in their relations with the *Municipalidad*, and their choice to focus on self-organisation enacting a “dispersed” understanding of power, with Trekaleyin community members are building and enacting their autonomy from a non-statist perspective, where the state is not necessarily involved or a central political actor (Escobar, 2010), articulating their economic engagement with territorial, cultural and political dimensions. These ways to resist by building “autonomous, dispersed, self-organised and non-state forms of politics” (Escobar, 2010 p. 41) are informed by relational conceptions, enacting resistance in everyday practices and changing the world while acknowledging that “social change, the creation-recreation of social relations, needs neither centralisation nor unification” (Zibechi, 2006 p. 129, my translation), and indeed might involve the opposite. But how is this being done? What kinds of processes and discourses are being articulated by members of Trekaleyin to enact resistance in this way? In the next section I argue that it is precisely through these ways to relate to the market and the process of becoming “tourism entrepreneurs”, that members of Trekaleyin are enacting resistance in these “tactical” and “dispersed” terms.

Resistance, a great reason to become entrepreneurs

This is what Luis, a guide of Trekaleyin said in a TV interview:

Si hoy día aquí estamos en medio de robles y coigües grandes es porque están lejos del comercio. Si estuvieran al alcance de un camino por donde pasen más vehículos, esto ya no estaría, ya se habría vendido. Somos afortunados de tener este bosque acá arriba, y estamos empeñados en protegerlo, no solamente para mostrárselo al turista sino más bien para conservar, y para que nuestros hijos puedan conocer este bosque y el sentido espiritual que tiene para nosotros como Pewenche.

Bueno, a nosotros como jóvenes se nos ocurre esto porque tenemos que vivir acá en las comunidades, ese es nuestro gran desafío. Si nosotros nos damos cuenta, el mundo nos

ofrece de todo, nos ofrece comodidades, dinero y todo. Pero no es la idea irse de acá. La idea es que nosotros vivamos acá, que conservemos los recursos naturales que tenemos en la zona para el bien de nuestros hijos, así como también para los niños de este país, el futuro de Chile.

Y con todas las riquezas que tenemos nosotros acá en el Alto Bío-Bío podemos ser perfectamente empresarios turísticos o microempresarios, como se quiera llamar, pero ser nosotros los autores materiales de esta actividad. Que nuestra gente sea quien gane el dinero, de acuerdo a su trabajo, con un trabajo digno. No solamente nos beneficiamos nosotros [los guías] sino que también la gente que tiene animales. Por ejemplo el que tiene chivos, que vendan su chivo, o arriende sus caballos. Entonces todo se va de alguna forma articulando, sin alterar el sistema, porque solamente se aprovecha en verano.

De esa forma queremos aprovechar nuestros recursos, no botando árboles ni quemando ni vendiendo nuestras tierras, sino que ser dueños, con un proyecto largo plazo ... Ha sido difícil, es cierto, acá no todas las comunidades participan, claramente siempre está la duda todavía porque es un trabajo de hormiga, un trabajo que va a durar mucho, va a costar mucho, entonces tenemos que alinearnos, tenemos que decir: ya, qué es lo que vamos a hacer para nosotros permanecer con el tiempo en este territorio, que nuestros jóvenes puedan vivir acá (Sendero Koniñamco: Red de senderos Pewenche Trekaleyin, 2009).

If we are here today among big “robles” (oaks), “coigües” (a tree species), it’s because they are far from the commerce. If they were easier to reach from a road with more vehicles, this would be no longer here, it would have been sold. So we are fortunate to have this forest up here and we are committed to protecting it, not only to show it to tourists, but rather to preserve it for our children to know this forest, and the spiritual meanings it has for us as Pewenche.

Well, as young people we came up with this idea because we have to live here in the communities, this is our big challenge. If we see, the world offers us everything, comforts, money and everything. But it’s not the idea to leave. Our idea is to live here, to preserve the natural resources we have in the area for the sake of our children, as well as for the children of this country, the future of Chile.

And with all the wealth we have here in Alto Bio-Bio we can perfectly be touristic entrepreneurs or micro-entrepreneurs, whatever you choose to call it, but us being the material perpetrators of this activity. And that our people earn the money, according to

their work, a decent work. Not only we [the guides] benefit from this, but also people who have animals. For example those who have goats can sell their goat, or rent their horses. So everything is articulating in some way, without altering the system, because it's only done during summer.

This way we want to benefit from our resources, not felling or burning trees or selling our lands, but being the owners, with a long term project. ... It has been difficult, it's true, here not all the communities participate, clearly there will always be doubt because it's an ant-like job, a job that will take a very long time, that will be very difficult, so we need to align ourselves, we have to say: ok, what are we going to do for us to remain in this territory over time, for our offspring to be able to live here (Sendero Koniñamco: Red de senderos Pewenche Trekaleyin, 2009).

Although he doesn't explicitly use the word resistance in this interview, Luis is referring to an on-going, long term process of resistance in several ways. He mentions resistance to the loss of forests for logging and other detrimental economic activities, resistance to losing the spiritual meaning of the forests, resistance to migrating from the communities, resistance to the pursuing only of money and comforts, resistance to losing their territories and the connection with them, as well as the intergenerational transmission of that connection, resistance to engaging in exploitative jobs, resistance to being seen as poor, resistance to the role of passive state beneficiaries and instead choosing to be active entrepreneurs, resistance to individualism or exclusively personal gain, resistance to developing economic activities detrimental to "the system" (environmental, social and spiritual), resistance to selling and losing their lands, and resistance to being at the margins of society and instead contributing to a better future. Luis is suggesting that with Trekaleyin they are resisting common discourses that represent their communities as marked by high levels of poverty, isolation, marginalisation, hopelessness and the low productivity of their lands (see for instance Azócar et al., 2005; Ilustre Municipalidad de Alto Bío Bío, 2006; Ministerio de Planificación, 2000). In doing so, they are putting forward a more empowering view of their territories as rich and valuable, and of themselves as community members as capable of both remaining and having a good life there, while at the same time participating in society. As Luis implies, it is making visible and "viable" their role as stewards of their territories and culture, and the fulfilment of their responsibilities towards maintaining *küme felen* or balanced relationships, strengthening self-organisation and increasing their economic wellbeing. As Luis asserts, the construction of these more enabling and empowering alternatives is due, to a large extent, to their adoption of the identity of "tourism entrepreneurs", a

self-identification that Trekaleyin members have increasingly embraced in the last years. But “entrepreneurship” is a controversial term in the context of rampant neoliberalism and multiculturalism in Chile and beyond. It has been identified as one of the tenets of neoliberal subjectivities and notions of citizenship, encapsulated in the idea of the “homo-economicus” or the entrepreneurial, self-made individual, in a context of enhanced individual freedom and reduced mediation of the state (Barnes and Sheppard, 1992; McCarthy and Prudham, 2004; Peet, 2002). However, studies have shown that among indigenous peoples, for instance, entrepreneurship can become a way of “indigenising” the economy while improving the wellbeing and autonomy of their tribes (Bunten, 2011). A remarkable and well-known example is Ngai Tahu, which in 1998 became the first Maori tribe to reach a full settlement with the government of Aotearoa New Zealand for the injustices of colonisation. Using the compensation they received, Ngai Tahu created corporations and business units to deal with investments and reinvestments strategies, and to support the socio-economic wellbeing of its members. While not exempt from criticisms, this has resulted in significant benefits and have led Ngai Tahu to be called an example of “successful indigenous entrepreneurship” (Paulin, 2007).

In Chile, and in particular in Alto Bío-Bío, Alex Latta (2005; 2007) has argued that from a neoliberal and multicultural approach, the state has promoted “entrepreneurship” among the Mapuche through projects and programmes that have aimed to divert communities’ concerns from political issues to economic development, forcing them to become neoliberal subjects in restricted and subordinated ways. Thus, entrepreneurship could be seen as a way for the state to endorse the “indio permitido” (authorised Indian) (Hale, 2002; 2004; Hale and Millamán, 2006), who by complying with state policies disengages from the defence of political and cultural rights. Understanding indigenous peoples’ engagement with entrepreneurship in these terms, however, not only underestimates their agency to transform it and “make do” with the state policies and the economy (De Certeau, 1984), but takes us back to the paradigm of the “impossible indian” who can be neither permitted nor autonomous, but remains always characterised by its difference and distant exoticism (Castillo, 2006). Instead, I argue that through the adoption of the identity and languages of entrepreneurship, members of Trekaleyin are -while also involving a degree of compliance- challenging and displacing the dichotomy between the “authorised” and the “insurrect” Mapuche. As Luis observed in the previous quote, in this displacement they are able to enact the mobility of their identities and the fluid and contested nature of the ways in which Mapuche-Pewenche people can participate in and thus re-create society. So, instead of only two options of either maintaining a confrontational approach or subordinating their demands and embracing an imposed neoliberalism,

leaders and members of Trekaleyin are building relationships and spaces where elements of neoliberal multiculturalism, such as being “tourism entrepreneurs” and self-help, are being negotiated and reworked so as to assert their demands and agency. Thus, as Luis, Verónica and others have suggested, tourism and entrepreneurship are “tactically” being appropriated to enact transformative practices of resistance, that involve the dislocation and hybridisation of dichotomous subjectivities, and the construction of self-organised, dispersed and non-statist alternatives, which are changing the ways they participate in society and, indeed, society itself. As Escobar (2010) and Zibechi (2006) would argue, community members are re-creating themselves and their abilities to transform society, and therefore as García Canclini (1996) would call it, their ways to enact citizenship.

Re-enacting citizenship

Tito Tricot (2009) has asserted that Mapuche organisations in Chile are today aware of the limitations of a “cultura de resistencia” (a culture of resistance) as well as of the need to search for ways to build political and autonomic alternatives. Members of Trekaleyin, by becoming tourism entrepreneurs and destabilising the binary of domination and resistance, are leading and engaging in a process of resistance as experimentation, transformation and innovation, based on a sense of responsibility and interconnection. Luis expressed this in his TV interview (see quote in pages 164-166), in which it is also particularly interesting to note how he reflects about the characteristic and consequences of the work of Trekaleyin. He acknowledges that it is an “ant-like job”, or in other words, that it is a slow process that requires long-term commitment and can seem to be very small. However, he, as well as other members of Trekaleyin has at the same time recognised and aspired for their job to have a positive impact for the “sake of our children as well as for the children of this country, the future of Chile”. Therefore, as he puts it, by asking “ok, what are we going to do” and deciding to engage in tourism, community members are re-working their abilities and the ways in which they participate, and re-enacting citizenship. Although community members do not use the term “citizen” or “citizenship” as such, they do evoke citizen-like qualities and construct themselves as political subjects. For instance, as was discussed in Chapter 3, Trekaleyin members connect the work they do in tourism with issues of autonomy and relations with the state. As Verónica suggested when talking about their relations with the Municipalidad (see quote in pages 88 to 91), the way they engage with tourism is allowing them to break with dependency and assert that they can

participate in more empowered and autonomous relationships. Similarly, Ramiro, a leader of Trekaleyin, made the following comment during a meeting:

Peñi, así organizados podemos tratar también de algún día cambiar las políticas públicas que llegan acá al Alto Bío-Bío. Con una organización turística fuerte, que además reciba plata, es más posible que nos escuchen y poder influir en lo que el estado hace acá en nuestras comunidades. Y quién sabe, tal vez no sólo acá en la región sino que también a nivel de Chile. Porque ya se ha demostrado demasiado que muchas cosas no andan, no funcionan, y que nosotros tenemos la experiencia, nuestros avances que aportar.

Peñi, organised this way we can also try to one day change the public policies that reach Alto Bío-Bío. With a strong tourism organization, that also earns money, it is more possible to be heard and eventually be able to influence what the state does here in our communities. And who knows, maybe not only in the region but also in Chile. Because it has been so proven that many things don't work and that we have the experience, our progresses to contribute.

(8 Dec 2008)

As Trekaleyin's website expresses (see quote in pages 157 and 158), members of Trekaleyin believe that they are also contributing "towards tolerance and the valuing of cultural diversity in our country", as well as to the preservation of Chile's natural heritage (Trekaleyin, n. d.). These issues are also evident in the following quote from Arnoldo, a *lonko* speaking to a group of tourists:

Yo me siento orgulloso, como *lonko* me siento tan feliz de que hoy día tenemos nuestra riqueza, que ustedes saben que en Santiago no se ven ni árboles, en otros países no se ven ni un árbol, pero nosotros gracias al *Ngenechen* (dios) estamos aún libres, sin contaminaciones, y por eso hoy día nosotros queremos decirles que son parte de nuestra familia, que ustedes se sientan orgullosos que todavía en Chile hay riqueza. Y esa riqueza la tenemos nosotros como Pewenche, como Mapuche. Nosotros lo mantenemos. Son para ustedes y son para nosotros. Y eso es lo bonito, compartir nuestra riqueza para ambos lados.

I feel very proud, as *lonko* I feel very happy that today we have our wealth, because as you know in Santiago you can't see trees, in other countries you don't see any trees anymore, but thanks to *Ngenechen* (god) we are still free, without pollution, and that's why today we want to tell you that you are part of our family, that you should also feel proud that still in Chile there is wealth. And this wealth we have ourselves as Pewenche, as Mapuche. We keep it. It is for you and for us. And that's beautiful, to share our wealth for both sides.

(1 February 2009)

In this quote, Arnoldo is expressing his pride for what they have as Mapuche-Pewenche and the role they play in keeping what is theirs, that also benefits and contributes to the whole society, or even the world when he mentions other countries. As also did Luis, Arnoldo is making the connection between their (local) actions as private entrepreneurs and the implications for wider society. It is not only helping them to protect their wealth (and to improve their wellbeing), but is also helping to “share” it, to “let others know it”, in an exchange that runs in “both” directions. This sharing “both ways” entails learning and teaching, as well as the possibility for more equal and balanced relationships. Thus, by creating spaces of encounter with tourists as well as with the state and other institutions, Trekaleyin is aiming to promote spaces where politics of difference are explicitly addressed, and being Pewenche is not an obstacle or a picturesque element, but a crucial factor in the kind of exchange being created and the relationships being established, as well as in the economic and development options being articulated. Therefore, as García Canclini (1996) suggests, tourism and relations with the market entail the re-definition of those involved as “citizens”, understanding citizenship as the assertion of the right to belong to the socio-political system and to participate in its re-elaboration. With this, the distinction between private and public space is being re-worked, while also reconciling the market with political participation. Citizenship, as Trekaleyin demonstrates, does not come only from the rights granted by the state and the legal system, but also from their desire to defend and validate difference, and to influence and participate in the creation of more sustainable and equal ways of co-existing, thus legitimising and expanding their possibilities of community members as political actors.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how the experience of Trekaleyin can illuminate unexpected consequences of relations with the market. This has required the exploration of notions of commodification and re-appropriation as processes with multiple dimensions that, even though can have detrimental effects at times, can also be articulated for the positive re-working of demands and identities among communities. It also has involved understanding the ways in which the market and the economy are linked to complex social, political and cultural processes, through which resistances can be enacted and that, as in the case of Trekaleyin, have led to the enlargement ideas around self-determination, citizenship and entrepreneurship.

In this chapter frequent discussions that suggest that the economic advancement of “impoverished” Mapuche people is just a matter of macroeconomic adjustments, funding individual enterprises or the promotion of participation in the limited and failed multicultural system prevalent in Chile (Marimán, 2005a), are being challenged. These ideas, based on Western and Eurocentric conceptions of modernity and economic liberalism, operate through development programmes and projects based on productivist paradigms and eco-technocratic discourses (COTAM, 2003b). For decades they have been part of the narrow approaches of the Chilean state to indigenous peoples, continuously denying their political and economic rights. They dismiss indigenous peoples’ active participation in the construction and transformation of society as citizens acting from their sites or contexts through on-going tactics of resistance and creation, and therefore, limit discursively and practically the opportunities to advance their participation and rights.

Although the experience of Trekaleyin is far from being free of tensions and risks, and certainly tourism and the market economy have proved to be controversial and damaging at times, I have seized these complexities and contradictions in order to contribute to wider debates on (post)development, tourism, relations with the market and citizenship. At the same time, I have tried to contribute to the current challenges faced by Trekaleyin and Mapuche organisations by bringing new perspectives to their current search for proposals and alternatives to strengthen their decolonising and autonomic projects. Following the call of Marimán et al. (2006b), this chapter engages with decolonisation by examining the ways in which the communities contribute and transform the economy and society, a fact that has been generally made invisible. Moreover, this points to the fact that through a “local” economic initiative, community members’ are enhancing their possibilities for political and social participation. Thus, their self-identification as entrepreneurs (and citizens), is having important implications for the roles and ways in which they engage with

different scales. This fact highlights the intertwined nature of events and places, and the ways in which Alto Bío-Bío and Trekaleyin can be seen as emergent assemblies of interacting close and far away elements and processes, which come into being through their localised connections (Marston et al., 2005). From this perspective we can begin to better understand the multiple-scale implications of Trekaleyin, and see tourism not as the “imprint of the global on the local, but *as the actualization of a particular connective process, out of a field of virtuality*” (Escobar, 2007 p. 109, emphasis in original), where what exists is not the predetermined result of static relations, but rather one result amongst many virtual or possible results that emerge from the ways in which these interactions are articulated. Indeed, Escobar (2007 p. 110) has argued that, through the relations built by autonomous networks such as Trekaleyin, “a good part of what movements do is precisely to enact a politics of the virtual so that other social/natural/spatial/cultural configurations might become possible”. Community members, then, through their “entrepreneurship” and transformative practices and relations, can be seen as contributing to enact one of the many possibilities for the communities of Alto Bío-Bío, in which they are aiming to improve their wellbeing and influence society.

In my opinion, if Trekaleyin were to be given any innovation prize, more than because of the ways in which they are opening new niche markets or increasing their competitiveness as a tourist initiative, it should be granted due to the fact that, through their efforts towards decolonisation and autonomy by becoming tourist entrepreneurs, they are contesting the boundaries of economic, social, political and spatial division. Thus, they are emphasising connectivity, self-organisation, interaction, dispersion and self-determination, re-working society and their place in it, and challenging the rigidities of capitalocentric, statist and hierarchical conceptions. But acknowledging this way of participating in society, of enacting citizenship and relating to others through tourism and entrepreneurship opens further questions. How are community members’ connections being enrolled in relations with other places/scales? How is Alto Bío-Bío being constructed as “place” by Trekaleyin? How are possibilities being expanded or constricted? In the next chapter, using literature on place and scale, I will attempt to answer these questions.

CHAPTER 6

TREKALEYIN, PLACE AND SCALE:

RELATIONALITY, NETWORKS AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF

RESUBJECTIVATION

Introduction

Alto Bío-Bío is commonly described as an isolated, remote and inhospitable place. Sergio Villalobos, a prominent Chilean historian, has published several academic works in which he refers to Alto Bío-Bío as a “frontier”, an isolated and defeated place (see among others Villalobos, 1989; 1995). His main argument is that until the “pacification of the Araucanía”, or the definitive invasion of Chile to Mapuche territory in 1881, the Bío Bío river was the border between Chile and the Mapuche, and therefore Alto Bío-Bío, located right by the river, was the expression of this “frontier” in the Andes Mountains. But after its inclusion into the Chilean territory and the arrival of settlers, state institutions and roads, Alto Bío-Bío has continued to be represented as a “frontier space”, and has been even declared an “internal border” by geopoliticians of the Chilean army (Molina, 1998). Even Raúl Molina, from a position of support for the Pewenche people resorts to this idea by saying that:

[Alto Bío-Bío] still retains its old frontier character, and although stripped of its political and territorial autonomy, it is so in natural and geographical terms being, despite the ways of penetration a “frontier with Chile”, that is, the separation of two different worlds (Molina, 1998 p. 78-79, my translation)

The representation of Alto Bío-Bío as a remote and “frontier” place has had many consequences. It marginalises and isolates community members from broader society, or as Doreen Massey (2005) would suggest, Alto Bío-Bío as a place is essentialised and removed from any implications in broader issues. This essentialisation overlooks the political implications of the fact that “very few places aren’t in any way at all implicated in wider processes” (Massey et al., 2009 p. 412) and neglects the political consequences of such connections. Furthermore, this depiction of indigenous territories as “frontier spaces” is far from innocent. Sarah Radcliffe and Nina Laurie (2006) have discussed how in Bolivia and Ecuador imaginations of indigenous peoples in the Andes emphasise their isolation and spatial circumscription to justify poverty and exclusion. Similarly, Richard Howitt (2001 p. 234) has identified in his work in Australia that these “frontier metaphors”,

as he calls them, result from elements of the colonial and neo-colonial experience, such as the “longstanding and foundational fear and loathing of the indigenous Other constructed in response to those colonial encounters”, as well as the confrontation with alien environmental conditions. Moreover, these metaphors are crucial in the definition of indigenous lands as “empty” and available (“terra nullis”), justifying indigenous dispossession (Howitt, 2006). Therefore, these discourses of “emptiness, occupation and possession ... deny, erase and silence alternative pluralist and inclusive discourses based on the realities of presence, co-existence and belonging” (Howitt et al., 2010 p. 6). They have resulted in a “process of development through monologue” (236), that involves a politics of “exclusion, control and myopia and reflects and reinforces a geographical imagination rooted in images of empire” (Howitt, 2001 p. 236). This is evident in the case of Alto Bío-Bío. For instance in this statement, Villalobos refers to the defeat and “disintegration” of the Pewenche people:

[This book] demonstrates the result of the long frontier history that annihilated the Indians of the pines (Pewenche). Resistance, alliances, accommodations and recurrent violence, all of them resulted futile ... From the beginning their disintegration had been inevitable (Villalobos, 1989 p. 263, my translation)

But tourism is first and foremost an activity about difference, connection and encounters, and its influence on the construction of places has been widely studied (Coleman and Crang, 2008; Sheller and Urry, 2004). Tourism has increasingly shaped our “geographical imagination” or the ways in which we represent and imagine the world, places and peoples (Massey, 1995). These imaginations also influence our understandings of the local and the global and how they are interconnected (Allen and Massey, 1995), a topic that has been addressed in the extended discussions among geographers around scale, among which globalisation has become a central concern in the last decades (Herod and Wright, 2002a). The fact that we are living in a smaller and more interconnected world is often emphasised, and tourism is frequently invoked as both a cause and a consequence of globalisation (Mowforth and Munt, 1998).

In the previous chapter I discussed how in Alto Bío-Bío, through tourism and their identification as tourism entrepreneurs, community members are asserting their rights and resistance, and reworking their relations with the state and society. This could suggest that the particular geographical imagination that the Pewenche communities are developing through tourism is one that allows for such defence and enlarged opportunities. But if Alto Bío-Bío is commonly characterised by exclusion and its frontier status, how is tourism being articulated in this

construction of place? What kind of geographical imagination or representations of Alto Bío-Bío and its links with broader scales are being developed? How are members of Trekaleyn dealing with the connections and encounters that tourism is opening, and what are the implications for their roles and subjectivities? In this chapter, using geographical literature on place and scale, I explore these issues and suggest that the communities are constructing Alto Bío-Bío as an open and relational place, that is “simultaneously made as both local and global, without necessarily being wholly either” (Latham, 2002 p. 116), which has important consequences for decolonisation. In order to do that, I will first discuss how Alto Bío-Bío can be represented as an isolated or as a connected place, to then use literature on place to understand it as relational and constituted by an arrange of local and more-than-local elements, and the implications this has. Then, I will explore the literature on scale and the relation of the local and the global to understand how Trekaleyn is complicating this divide and articulating multiple scales. Finally, using Gibson-Graham (2002) notion of resubjectivation, I will look at the ways in which the adoption of the identity of tourism entrepreneurs is also influencing how these relations across scales are taking place.

Frontiers and connections: A relational construction of Alto Bío-Bío

Alto Bío-Bío as (dis)connected

According to Ximena Navarro and Leonor Adan (1998), Alto Bío-Bío has usually been described as a “frontier space” because of the ethnocentric bias of those doing the representing, a fact that is at the root of many of the conflicts faced by the communities, and that has led to dispossession, marginalisation and imposed interventions. But from other perspectives and marked by its location and key mountain passes, Alto Bío-Bío can be also recognised as shaped by its “long history of mobilities” since pre-Hispanic times (Flores, 1998). Archaeology studies have stated that as early as 1200 AD a dispersed nomadic group, ethnically different from the Mapuche, sporadically inhabited the area moving across both sides of the Andes (Navarro and Adan, 1998). By the sixteenth century, historic accounts refer to the Pewenche as a clearly defined group, whose mobility notably increased with their adoption of the horse introduced by the colonisers (Molina and Correa, 1998). By the XVIII and XIX centuries, the transit in this area included not only the Pewenche, but also the Spanish with whom they traded and held political and military alliances. Salt, textiles, arrows, swords, cattle, and ostrich feathers were among the goods traded by the Pewenche with both

Spanish and indigenous groups at both sides of the mountains, exchanges that continued for centuries (Navarro and Adan, 1998).

During the Spanish invasion, and later during the wars led by the newly created states of Chile and Argentina to expand their territories, Alto Bío-Bío became a place of refuge and mixing. Since the mid XVII century, Mapuche groups who lived in the central valleys arrived in Alto Bío-Bío escaping from the war and devastation in their territories. This initiated what has been called the “araucanización” or “mapuchización” (literally araucanisation or mapuchisation) of the Pewenche, which involved important socio-cultural changes. Over time, the Pewenche adopted *Mapudungún*, the Mapuche language and became integrated into the Mapuche people, although retaining some of their particularities. Among them were the practice of annual transhumance between the “veranadas” (summer grasslands) and the “invernadas” (lowlands), and the gathering of the Pewén nuts. Later, with the creation of the Chilean and Argentinean republics in the mid XIX century, the Pewenche of the Alto Bío-Bío again provided shelter for Mapuche displaced groups from both countries, while being forced to retreat to higher, more “marginal” lands (Aguilera Milla, 1987; Bengoa, 1996). Infiltration by large landowners and military occupation began in Alto Bío-Bío mainly in the 1870s and 80s after the consolidation of the Chilean state. “Colonos” or settlers, “inquilinos” and “medieros” or tenants arrived, along with livestock and logging interests that have persisted in the area until today, causing important territorial losses for the communities (Molina, 1998; Molina and Correa, 1998). But in these unfavourable circumstances and far from being passive, community members continuously claimed their rights to land, as demonstrated when in 1890 Pewenche authorities declared formally to the Chilean state ancestral possession of their lands, disregarding the titles given to foreign owners (Azócar et al., 2005).

Relationships with the Argentinean side for trade and social relations remained very active until the 1970s, when during Pinochet’s dictatorship most mountainous passes were closed due to the quasi-war between both countries. They have remained closed since then, and only the Chanchucó pass in Butalelbún, in the Queuco valley, continues to be open. It is being frequently used by community members from Butalelbún and Trapa Trapa, as a return trip to the Argentinean town of Copahue can be done in one day travelling by horse, which is closer than any Chilean town. Until the 1990s, when animal health controls were tightened, trade of cattle and horses was common across the frontier, which to a lesser degree continues today in more or less legal ways. Also because of the tense relations with Argentina, and in an effort to “integrate” Alto Bío-Bío into the Chilean state, the first vehicle road was opened in the Queuco valley during the 1980s. This development

transformed the travels that until then were made by horse in small tracks (Molina, 1998), which both before and after the opening of the road, were done for varied family, economic, legal or social reasons, that included the search for jobs, education or adventures.

Since the 1990s, Alto Bío-Bío has also featured in national and international arenas due to conflicts over hydroelectric megaprojects. Alto Bío-Bío became a site of big international capital investments, with corporations interested in hydroelectric and later geothermic projects, among others. Thus, workers, buildings, machines, roads, managers, phone lines and so on arrived in the area. With them arrived a wide variety of local, national and international organisations, activists, academics, and supporters with interests ranging from environmental, human rights and indigenous causes, which also enlisted Alto Bío-Bío in their concerns and support networks. From meetings in Washington DC at the offices of the Organisation of American States to protests in Europe and other parts of the Americas, and from massive demonstrations in the streets of Chilean cities to meetings with state representatives, the building of hydroelectric dams, in particular Ralco, propelled Alto Bío-Bío as an arena of indigenous and environmental struggles first, and of the manifestation of the noxious effects of neoliberalism for the environment and indigenous peoples later. Currently, different state and non-state institutions maintain links in the area and are increasingly concerned with rising poverty levels. Interestingly, the 1990s was also the decade when Alto Bío-Bío started to feature as an incipient tourist destination, with the arrival of spontaneous tourists and the establishment of the first camping sites in the communities.

Therefore, relations and connections have crucially shaped Alto Bío Bío. They range from the historical accounts of trade and migrations, to more recent investment and economic projects, along with ideas of development, the environmental, human and indigenous rights, tourism, social relations, work, exchange and so on. However, these connections are commonly downplayed in most academic or media representations of Alto Bío-Bío, involving neo-colonial frontier politics that lead to discrimination, invisibility and ideas of “emptiness” and availability. But taking into account these “frontier metaphors” while also acknowledging the difficulties of communications and transport that exist in the area, how can we understand the impact tourism is having in the articulation of Alto Bío-Bío as a connected or frontier space?

Understanding places as relations

Instead of essentialised ideas of places as bounded, stable and exclusive, a more “progressive” understanding of place has been developed by Doreen Massey, Nigel Thrift (1999) and others. In particular, Massey (2005) has proposed an “extroverted” and relational view of place that addresses the ways in which places are constituted by their relations and connections with the wider world. Places, according to her, can be better understood as a unique point of intersection in a fabric of relations, movements, ideas, technologies and communications. In other words:

[places] can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a larger proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself (Massey, 1991 p. 27).

I argue that with tourism, members of Trekaleyn are “constructing” an idea of Alto Bío-Bío that emphasises its connections with local and more-than-local elements and actors. In fact, by presenting it as a touristic place, they are putting forward a particular geographical imagination precisely through these links with institutions, persons, things and ideas located in different sites and positions. This geographical imagination asserts Alto Bío-Bío as part of and not excluded from society and broader processes, and where community members are participating as citizens, entrepreneurs and stewards, as was mentioned in the previous chapter. Alto Bío-Bío is thus presented as connected, appealing, important, rich and valuable. Moreover, together with the particular geographical imagination being circulated, tourism is promoting certain kinds of relations and the increased prominence of particular actors. For instance, their engagement with tourism is allowing community members to bypass a hostile local government and “alcalde” (or mayor), and to build alliances with local, national and international institutions with whom they have aimed to forge more equal and empowering relations, or at least seek access to funding and support blocked by the Municipalidad. These institutions include NGOs such as SEPADE, Servicio País, World Vision and others, as well regional or national level state institutions like Sendero de Chile, SERNATUR, CONAMA, CONADI, FOSIS, CONAF, CORFO, CMN and so on (see List of acronyms in page xv). Directly or through their supporting institutions, they have also been able to obtain funding from international agencies such as the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the Global Environment Facility (GEF), the European Commission, the Inter-American Development Bank and others.

Developing these relations, along with financial and technical support, has also meant that community members have needed to learn, re-work and appropriate new languages, ideas and ways of dealing with them. They have included on-going negotiations with institutions that have different approaches and levels of interest towards participation, as well as the development of skills to gradually increase their ability to influence and set the terms of these negotiations. Although they can choose with whom to work to a certain extent, community members have to deal with institutions and staff members whose procedures and practices challenge the building of balanced and positive relationships. This can take many forms, including cases in which agreements have been breached, decisions have been taken unilaterally or misunderstandings have resulted in putting an end to relationships. For instance, during fieldwork there were cases in which community members had serious disputes with institutions that did not pay for Trekaleyin services in the agreed timeframe, decided to buy saddles different from what has been arranged, or began to put too many conditions in the development of a building project. Also, a constant topic of discussion was the fact that the agendas of each institution have to be constantly negotiated with Trekaleyin. For instance, this is what Matías, the national director of an important supporting institution, said about their work with Trekaleyin:

Para nosotros Trekaleyin es una organización formal a través de la cual podemos bajar algunas operaciones que están en nuestra planificación. Sin embargo, yo tengo cierto temor de que se desarrolle un cuento que no sea tan asociado con nuestra institución. O sea, que trabajen con nosotros mientras apoyemos, pero que apenas nuestra participación sea menor, se desvincule. Nosotros no queremos competir, queremos integrarnos a lo que ya se está haciendo, pero ir formalizando esta relación, porque nosotros podemos apoyar bastante en temas de promoción, control de la calidad de los servicios, ver qué están haciendo, claro, sin modificarlo tanto. También nos vamos a meter en los precios, porque no queremos precios que se disparen. Yo diría que en un año más nos encantaría poder estar promoviendo estos senderos turísticos y que se cumplan tanto nuestros objetivos como los de los actores locales. Para nosotros tiene que ver con desarrollar una oferta de travesías que lleven a una transformación cultural y de desarrollo económico local.

For us Trekaleyin is a formal organization through which we can apply on the ground some operations that are in our planning. However, I am afraid that this initiative is not so closely associated with our institution. That they work with us as long as we support

them, but that as soon as our participation diminishes, they will disengage. We don't want to compete, we want to be integrated into what's already being done but formalising this relationship, because we can support quite a bit on issues of marketing, quality control of their services and see what they're doing, of course, without changing it much. And we're going to intervene on the prices, because we don't want prices to skyrocket. I would say that within a year we would love to be promoting these touristic tracks and to meet both our goals and those of local actors. For us it has to do with providing an offer of trips that lead to cultural transformation and local economic development.

(7 April 2009)

Matías, as national director, must ensure his institution achieves its goals and meets its commitments to those who finance it. He seems to have good intentions in supporting Trekaleyin. However, his top-down approach means that he sees Trekaleyin mainly as an instrument to “apply on the ground” his own priorities. He expects loyalty and “formalised relationships” with Trekaleyin, as he thinks his institution can help with important issues such as marketing, but assumes he can unproblematically evaluate the work of Trekaleyin for “quality control” or even decide a priori to “intervene on the prices” if they do not fit with his organisation approach, which puts serious constraints to the role and voices of members of Trekaleyin. But even with partners more sensitive to issues of participation and horizontal relations these relations, entail negotiations and tensions, as Fernanda, a staff member from a supporting NGO acknowledged:

Una vez mi director regional me dijo: “tu jefe no soy yo, tu jefe son las comunidades”. Ahí me quedo claro al tiro. Ese es el principio fundamental, por eso nosotros como institución tratamos de incluir y de tomar las decisiones siempre conversando con quienes son nuestra contraparte que son los dirigentes y los guías de la Red Trekaleyin. Pero igual no es del todo como quisiéramos. O sea, quisiéramos que hubiera siempre un dirigente al lado diciendo sí o no, o cómo hacerlo, pero muchas veces terminamos tomando algunas decisiones que incluso a veces nos han pasado la cuenta, nos han parado los carros [los miembros de Trekaleyin] por decisiones muy apresuradas tomadas por el equipo técnico que tal vez debieron haber sido más consultadas.

My regional director told me once: “I’m not your boss, your boss are the communities”. He made it clear right there. That’s the main principle, and that’s why as an institution we try to include and make decisions always talking to our counterparts who are the leaders and the guides of the Red Trekaleyin. But anyway it isn’t quite as we would want it to be. I mean, we would like to always have a leader with us saying yes or no, or how to do things, but often we end up making some decisions that have had consequences, they [members of Trekaleyin] have complained and warned us because we made decisions in too much of a rush by the technical team when people perhaps should have been consulted more.

(20 March 2009)

For the members of Trekaleyin these relations have involved many challenges, not only with regards to the ways in which they deal with these institutions and staff but also the tensions that it generates among them. Eusebio referred to these tensions when arguing with a staff member:

Yo igual lo entiendo, pero entiéndame a mí también pues. A mí también me presionan todos los días, en la comunidad, la gente del grupo. Ellos no siempre me entienden y ahí igual tengo problemas, tengo que poner la cara también yo. Cuando uno va como cabeza del grupo no siempre lo entienden, pero por otro lado la gente también tiene razón pues, también se cansa de estar esperando

I do understand it, but please understand me too. I’m also under pressure every day, in the community, by people of the group. They do not always understand me and that’s when I have troubles, I have to face them. When one acts as the head of the group people don’t always understand you, but on the other hand people is right too, they are tired of waiting.

(20 April 2009)

However, they also recognise that institutions have been instrumental for their consolidation in tourism, and therefore for their abilities to weave support networks that allow them to become more empowered and assert their particular geographical imagination. But tourism means the arrival of tourists too. Over 130 tourists travel to the mountains with Trekaleyin during the summer season each year, a figure that has been steadily increasing since 2005. Others stay at the camping sites,

cabins or use other Trekaleyin services. Most of them are Chileans living in cities such as Concepción and Santiago, however some international tourists, mainly from Europe or North America, also visit the communities. Many of these visitors contribute to Trekaleyin in more than financial terms. As Ñaña Rocío commented (see page 86), some tourists that visit the communities regularly have become almost like part of their families. Others, including some visiting only once, have offered places to stay when community members need to go to the city. Also, some tourists have become part of communities' support networks offering their skills, such as a group of experts in river management that offered to do research in the area. Most of the visitors also contribute with their comments to value, prize and reflect on the situation of Alto Bío-Bío and the communities. They shape the work of Trekaleyin while also learning about Alto Bío-Bío, engaging with the geographical imagination put forward by Trekaleyin. For instance, in a survey after a Trekaleyin expedition of around 30 people funded by Sendero de Chile, 100% of the tourists considered the experience either very good (78.9%) or good (21.1%), and the majority acknowledged they have learnt much or very much about Alto Bío-Bío and the ways of life of the Pewenche people. Also, all 30 respondents agreed that Trekaleyin is a very helpful initiative to promote interculturalism and environmental protection (Sendero de Chile, 2009). During interviews, tourists from different backgrounds often commented that after the trip they had a different view of the territory, including a better understanding of the Pewenche culture, the challenges the communities are facing, and of the ways in which they are responding and organising themselves. As Tomás, a visiting city dweller said:

Estoy asombrado, emocionado, sobrepasado en verdad. Vine bien contento pero en verdad encontré mucho más de lo que me esperaba, hay un verdadero tesoro acá, es una experiencia increíble. La amabilidad, la calidez de las personas que nos recibieron. También la posibilidad de entender y conocer la cultura y principalmente la situación, la problemática y la historia de esta comunidad. Sus tierras, todas las presiones por sus ríos, en verdad he aprendido tanto y me siento muy motivado de hacer algo al respecto, de apoyar como pueda, porque esto es un tesoro ... las comunidades son muy fuertes, tienen una tremenda fortaleza para enfrentar todo esto.

I am amazed, touched, overwhelmed in fact. I came very excited but really found much more than I expected, there is a real treasure here, it is an amazing experience. The friendliness, the warmth of the people who welcomed us. Also, the ability to understand and know the culture and especially the situation, problems and history of this community. Their lands, all pressures for its rivers, really I have learned so much and I

feel very motivated to do something about it, to support as I can, because this is a treasure ... the communities are very strong, have a tremendous strength to face all this.

(14 March 2009)

Community members are aware of the potential of tourism to transform the views that others have from them and their struggles, and use it for that purpose. This is what Miguel said:

El turismo yo creo que ayuda a proteger. Porque si llegamos a Los Angeles o llegamos a otras partes, si la gente conoce estos territorios donde nosotros vivimos, ellos saben que nosotros estamos valorando, entonces es un apoyo más que tenemos abajo en el pueblo, como aliados. Dicen “yo fui a tal parte, conocí lugares, conocí esto que tienen ellos”. Entonces ellos también despiertan, por ejemplo ahora mismo con este problema de la geotérmica.

I think that tourism helps to protect, because when we arrive in Los Angeles or we arrive in other places, if people know these territories where we live they know that we are valuing, so there is another support we get down there in towns, as allies. They'd say “I went to this place, I knew places, I knew what they have there”. So they also wake up, for instance now with this problem of the geothermic central.

(3 February 2009)

Together with influencing the way in which non-indigenous people like Tomás understand the Pewenche and their struggle, Trekaleyin has also received other indigenous groups from around the country to share their initiative with them. This has boosted their confidence, sense of success and of being “role models”, while further extending their contacts. Also, these encounters have prompted discussions and reflections on the roles and possibilities of indigenous peoples in Chile and beyond, and of the ways in which through tourism, they can engage with broader politics in innovative and empowering ways. For instance, Trekaleyin is one of the leading organisations of the “Primer Encuentro Nacional de Turismo Comunitario” (First National Meeting of Community Tourism) to take place in November 2011. This meeting aims to bring together members of indigenous communities from around the country working on community tourism to reflect on their experiences, strengthen their networks, and position community tourism in public policies (see Turismo Comunitario, n. d.). This meeting and Trekaleyin are creating a reference and promoting conversations about alternatives for indigenous communities' activities and participation in society.

But with tourism Trekaleyin members have increased their mobility themselves too. They have travelled to learn from other initiatives related to indigenous or community tourism and/or self-determination in the southern and northern parts of Chile, as well as to Colombia and Canada, and to present at a conference in Argentina (see Figures 22 to 25). This way they have extended their networks and positioned themselves as more-than-local actors, whose initiative has international reach.



Figure 22. Community members visiting the Tk'emlpús Indian Band in Canada
Source: Chile students in Kamloops (n. d.)



Figures 23 and 24. Trekaleyin is welcomed by a group of Afro-Colombians. In the figure on top the welcoming sign beside Trekaleyin's banner reads "Welcome. Enjoy your stay and may you receive from our hearts a light of hope"
Source: Pablo Azúa



Figure 25. Trekaleyin visits a Williche tourism initiative in the coast of southern Chile
Source: Pablo Azúa

Together with support and funding, these contacts and networks, as Massey (2005) would argue, have also been key in the construction and dissemination of a particular idea of Alto Bio-Bío as a place and of the possibilities of community members. This more enabling, positive and empowering geographical imagination put forward by the members of Trekaleyin, is the result of the meeting and mingling of people, ideas, knowledges, demands and practices from diverse and hybrid trajectories. These exchanges and mixing take places through application forms, reports, meetings, emails, and encounters with tourists, staff members and other indigenous tourism entrepreneurs. Through them, community members' demands and hopes around wellbeing, territorial control, autonomy and "ontological pluralism" (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006), are shaped, re-worked and interwoven with new elements. In many cases, Trekaleyin engages with elements that appeal to other actors' and institutions' imaginaries. Thus, they tactically allude to and appropriate concepts that commonly underpin the support of tourism in Third World or indigenous settings, such as sustainability, development, poverty alleviation, conservation, participation, and indigeneity (Mowforth et al., 2008; Walley, 2004; West and Carrier, 2004), demonstrating, as Laurie et al. (2005) have suggested, the ways in which local organisations can harness development discourses to serve their own interests. Some of these key issues are articulated together in this extract from an application for a government grant to strengthen social organisations:

El territorio del Alto Bío-Bío, ubicado en la Precordillera Sur de la Región del Bío Bío, es habitado principalmente por comunidades Mapuche Pewenche, quienes mantienen viva una forma de habitar el territorio desde tiempos ancestrales.

Desde el año 2004, en compañía con otras organizaciones, las comunidades locales han iniciado un trabajo asociativo en torno al ecoturismo comunitario. Este proyecto busca potenciar las redes ya existentes entre miembros de comunidades Pewenche del Valle del Queuco que trabajan el ecoturismo comunitario. En este contexto el ecoturismo es más que una opción de mero negocio, visualizándose como una real opción de desarrollo local con identidad.

A través de encuentros de diálogo para compartir experiencias e iniciativas, reuniones de planificación y charlas de motivación con expertos en ecoturismo, se pretende trabajar en los ejes temáticos de autogestión local, planificación, liderazgo, y sobre todo creación de redes asociativas.

Como producto concreto, se espera sistematizar el proceso, de manera de registrar la visión de las comunidades en torno al tema. Este documento final puede ser de gran utilidad para la institucionalidad pública que interviene en el territorio de Alto Bío-Bío, vinculado al desarrollo de un turismo que considera la identidad local del territorio (Trekaleyin, 2009b).

The territory of the Alto Bío-Bío, located in the foothills of the south of the Bío Bío region, is inhabited mainly by Mapuche Pewenche communities, who keep alive a way of inhabiting the territory since ancestral times.

Since 2004, along with other organisations, local communities have begun an associative work around community-based ecotourism. This project seeks to strengthen existing networks among members of the Pewenche communities of the Queuco valley who work in community-based ecotourism. In this context, ecotourism is more than a mere business option, and is viewed as a real option for local development with identity.

Through encounters of dialogue to share experiences and initiatives, planning meetings and motivational talks with experts in ecotourism, it is aimed to work on the themes of local self-management, planning, leadership, and especially the creation of associative networks.

As a concrete product, we expect to systematise the process so as to record the view of the communities around these issues. This final document can be useful for public institutions involved in the territory of Alto Bío-Bío, linked to the development of a

tourism that takes into account the local identity of the territory (Trekaleyin, 2009b, my translation).

Ideas of Alto Bío-Bío that also reinforce communities' rights, empowerment and connectedness are also constructed and communicated through the marketing tools used by Trekaleyin. They range from place specific elements like signs and buildings to broader tools such as brochures, posters and postcards. Trekaleyin has its own website translated in both Spanish and English (Trekaleyin, n. d., see also Appendix 1: Trekaleyin website), and its members have often appeared in the media since 2007, including local, regional and national newspapers, magazines and TV programmes (see Figures 26 to 29).



Figure 26. Trekaleyin sign at the entrance to Ralco town
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha



Figure 27. Trekaleyin website
Source: Trekaleyin (n. d.)



Figure 28. Member of Trekaleyin being interviewed for a national TV programme
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

El turismo es la llave pehuenche para el progreso del Alto Bío Bío

80 familias de Butalelbun, Trapa Trapa, Caulicú y Pitril, laboran organizadamente en la oferta de servicios, con cabañas, camping y cabalgatas con guías por los senderos pehuenches.

Luis Villa Villa, de la Universidad de Flórida, lidera la red de I+D+i en la que Cerebrum BD funciona, perteneciente

Es una oportunidad de rescatar los valores de nuestra cultura, la pequeña agricultura, ganadería, nuestra lengua. De lo contrario estaríamos vendiendo algo inventado".

pendedores y prestadores de servicios turísticos de cuatro comunidades del Valle del río Quebrá Putulubán, vecina a Argentina, Trapa Trapa, Cacti y Pitul. Son en parte de la organización dueños de caballos y camping, guías, artesanos, cocineros y propietarios de caballos.

EL LIDER

En esta foto, 33 años a hon, es el representante legal de la red. Sorprende su buen manejo del negocio. El reconoce que estudió solamente en la escuela rural de Pitín, donde vive, pero asegura que tiene buen gusto técnico. Efectivamente al trabajo, entre otros, jóvenes del servicio para y profesionales que ayudan en la gestión

Una asegura que la mayor parte de sus visitantes hace contacto a través de la página de la red en internet. Pero una de las situaciones más asociadas es desprenderse algunos días de la tecnología y co-

Señala que en la red participan 40 familias de las cuatro comunidades señaladas. El espacio que este año lleguen por lo menos tres o cuatro personas a cada comunidad, lo que permitiría afirmar la economía local. El incentivo es muy crudo allí y hay que guiarlos, vienes para esta época del año. Cuenta que tienen un sistema de radio para comunicarse entre las comunidades participantes y con los guías a cargo de las cabalgatas para coordinar mejor.

Dice que tienen caballos, a 2 mil dólares y también unos dromedarios, a 5 mil. Pero la mayoría de los turistas contrata un programa para recorrer los senderos péruanos, que vale 555 mil. El incluye desayuno, caballo, guía bilingüe, asado de chivo o cordero y la cena al regreso. Y si usted quiere, a que todo está hecho por la gente de las comunidades y valora el intercambio cultural. Dice que

con cada turista se aprende y el también se van con parte de la cultura peruana en tu recuerdo. Cuando se dicen cuenta de aquello, pueston mucha atención y recoger un poquito agricultur la ganaderia, su artesanía y en particular su lengua y sus costumbres. Además se han ido capacitando en temas propios de esta actividad, como la gastronomía y higiene. Asegura que la actividad turística es una oportunidad para rescatar los valores de su cultura. "Porque de no ser así estaríamos vendiendo algo inventado".

Afirma que la idea inicial fue desarrollar alguna actividad que permitiera generar ingresos sin que jóvenes tuvieran que abandonar sus estudios de su tierra. Debían ser algo que les permitiera vivir dentro de la naturaleza y seguir desarrollándose en el maravilloso paisaje de los ríos.

Dice que los locales, que son jefes de las comunidades pobres, respaldan a la red de turistas y están comprometidos con idea. Con ese apoyo, el trabajo hacen todo con satisfacción.

Juan Luis Rebollo del Manque y de Puralé, Chiriquí. Una hacha y un machete son sus compañeros permanentes. Con una botina negra y un traje cordillerano, como para el arreo, su figura tiene al de gaucha. Cuenta que el invierno es muy duro en su comunidad desde el mes de mayo. Este año el ganado atesoró un metro y medio de nieve. En condiciones difíciles, llega el bue de recuerdo rural. Han quedado muchas veces así. Hay que tener reservas por esos días. Por eso, el turismo es una actividad limpia y aprecia-

LA MAS POBRE

Para las autoridades, la actividad turística es sinónimo de trabajo y progreso. El gobernador Rio Rico, Renato Paredes, dijo que es una buena oportunidad para vencer las cifras de pobreza, que en el nacional tienen a la comuna de Alto Rio Rico, como la más pobre de Chile, con 49,1%. Esto a pesar del sinnúmero de turistas y a pe-

la intendencia regional japonesa van Zwylsberghe, apoya el trabajo de la red turística pechona y su aporte al progreso local. Dijo que es hasta de que van importantes pueden acceder a apoyos gubernamentales de mayor monto, para realizar mejor la actividad, como desarrollo de la infraestructura.



Preocupa la ampliación de la brecha que existía en octubre 2020

ANÁLISIS CON ENSAYOS

Brecha en PSU podría ser mayor este año

Diferencia llegó hasta 385 puntos en último ensayo U. Sta. María.

A menos de una semana de 757 (proximos días 13 y 14), la visión de los últimos ensayos realizados en la U. Técnica F. Santa María reflejan que hubo avance en postulantes a la educación superior en los últimos meses, luego de deficiente comportamiento a F, no igual hay situaciones preocupantes

Los censos realizados en la zona de Concorpeo muestran que el cambio en los mangares bordeó los 30 puntos. "Se consideró que el último censo realizado en el 2005, se podría pensar a los estudiantes han tenido algo de tiempo para suplir las falencias que mostraron al momento de entrar al simulacro", dijo Alberto Iñido, encargado de promoción en la Ufite. La preocupación surgió cuando se comparan los resultados locales con los resultados de la zona a nivel nacional. Se bien Matemáticas no es tan distante, lo que es el censo nacional realizado el 14 de agosto mostró una diferencia de 30 puntos, en contra de los jóvenes de la zona.

La Unión considera que la brecha entre colegios particulares y escuelas subvencionadas y municipales puede acortarse más este año, que fueron estos últimos los que sufrieron con más rigor las consecuencias del terremoto, que desde las materiales, hasta las psicológicas. En esta misma línea, los particulares sortearon problemas de tipo curricular, por la pérdida de clases, situaciones que debían haber sido prontamente solucionadas. En la otra cara de la moneda, los subvencionados y municipales, debían superar problemáticas de tipo básicas como, por ejemplo, cómo hacer clases", dijo Villalón.

Figure 29. Trekaleyin features in a regional prominent newspaper.
Headings read: “Poorest comuna of the country aims to change its luck. Tourism is the
Pewenche key to progress in Alto Bío-Bío”
Source: Oyarce (2010)

Trekaleyin is also part of broader networks of community or indigenous tourism such as Travolution, a global network of community based tourism initiatives that aims to “foster the sustainable development of communities and travellers” (Travolution, n. d.). In the Travolution website, Trekaleyin features side by side with initiatives from Egypt, Cambodia and other places. A world map shows that it is part of a network with connections in the Middle East, Asia, and other parts of South America. Thus Trekaleyin becomes enrolled in the “global scene” of community tourism and a notion of Alto Bío-Bío as connected is projected around the world (see Figure 30).



Figure 30. Trekaleyn in Tavolution website
Source: Travolution (n. d.)

Attracting and negotiating with tourists, donors and supporters involves the articulation of diverse discourses and a delicate balance between compliance and subversion of stereotypes, expectations and interests (Bunten, 2010). For Trekaleyn, it also includes the construction and defence of a particular imagination of Alto Bío-Bío as place that takes into account connectedness, the reaffirmation of “traditional” elements, as well as on-going political demands for self-determination, land claims and ontological difference. It thus challenges the representations of Alto Bío-Bío as a “frontier” and closed space, reasserting the possibility of co-existence and the value of plurality (Howitt, 2001). It also means acknowledging, engaging with and benefiting from a relational construction of place, which takes into account how it is transformed by relations, movements and ideas that go beyond the local. As Massey says (1991 p. 27), this is not just about “making the ritualistic connections to ‘the wider system’ [but rather acknowledging that] there are real relations with real content – economic, political, cultural” between Alto Bío-Bío and the

wider world. As can be expected, this process is having important consequences with regards to at least three key aspects: decolonisation, hybridity and negotiation.

Decolonisation, hybridity and negotiation: Consequences of relationality

The relational construction of Alto Bío-Bío as a place is not only a way for the communities to voice and articulate their demands, but it is resulting in broader effects. Howitt (2001; see also Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006) would argue that it could constitute a form of decolonisation of the geographical imaginations and relationships that support frontier/colonial relations and politics. For him, such a decolonising move should entail the acknowledgement of “the ambivalence and openness that is part and parcel of the complex, contingent and uncertain reality of co-existence” (Howitt, 2001 p. 242). So, to move beyond imaginations of indigenous territories and places such as Alto Bío-Bío as frontiers, Howitt proposes to think about them as “edges”, an ecological term used to define places characterised for their diversity and complexity. These “liminal spaces”, just as in the case of Alto Bío-Bío, instead of being shaped by lines of separation can thus be seen as “zones of interaction”, or in other words, “zones of transformation, transgression and possibility” (240). This way, it becomes possible to think of these places as subject to change, where elements, people and ideas from different trajectories, are being “enmeshed with, misunderstood and accommodate each other” (240).

Moreover, as Jay Johnson and Brian Murton (2007 p. 127) have acknowledged, it remains a key task for us as geographers to contribute to the decolonisation of constructions that “fix Indigenous peoples both spatially and temporally”. In a country like Chile that is still marked by racism, the “enclosure” of indigenous peoples and the idea that indigenous lands are “empty” and available (Marimán et al., 2006b; McFall, 2002), approaching indigenous places and the possibilities of co-existence in this light is very significant. Addressing this co-existence and “sharing” of place in more respectful ways with non-indigenous people has been a crucial concern among the Mapuche. For instance, addressing non-Mapuche people Elicura Chihuailaf, Mapuche poet and intellectual, writes:

The spirit speaks with the heart. And you ... may be our brother-our sister. Today we coexist in this territory and our interest has not been to keep boundaries to project ourselves to the Chilean world as a parcelled expression of our culture but to remain in the recreation of its totality ... in growing co-existence rather than assimilation, because

our *Az Mapu* is the Energy that will continue to be sustained and holding the universe (Chihuailaf, 1999 p. 205-206, my translation).

A second significant consequence of the relational construction of Alto Bío-Bío emphasised with Trekaleyn, is to highlight the hybrid character of both Alto Bío-Bío and Pewenche identities, which does not necessarily entail their erosion. As Néstor García Canclini (1996) has argued, and similarly to what Chihuailaf suggests in the quote above, indigenous peoples' "energetic defence of their ethnic heritage and their political autonomy is not at odds with their intercultural transactions and their critical integration into modernity" (p. 139). In fact, he says that by choosing to become "eclectic", indigenous peoples are most of the time in a better position to improve their current conditions. Furthermore, Escobar (1999) has argued that this politics of hybridisation in Latin America can constitute a "means to alterity and cultural affirmation" (p. 13). As can be seen in Alto Bío-Bío with Trekaleyn, connectivity and hybridisation are "a way of crossing the boundary between the traditional and the modern and of using both local and transnational cultural resources to create unique collective identities", where "the local nevertheless retains significant vitality" (p. 13).

But as García Canclini (2001) acknowledges, this mixing also involves negotiating with the terms and limitations posed by multiple (dominant) discourses. However, for him negotiation, as was mentioned earlier, is not in any way "a process external to the constitution of the actors ...[rather,] it is a mode of existence" (p. 146). In the case of Trekaleyn, this on-going negotiation and dialogue between a range of actors, knowledges, technologies and objects, shapes politics and daily life. It poses conflicts and tensions that, with different degrees of explicitness, are present at all levels and situations, and through which community members, although constrained, have the possibility to privilege or silence certain narratives, symbols and demands. Even if complex, incomplete and transient, this process of hybridisation and negotiation is allowing some important shifts in what Massey calls a "differential power geometry", or the varying positions and abilities that different groups have to control and influence flows and movements, as well as the reach of their geographical imaginations (Massey, 1991; 1995). Consequently, through these at times challenging negotiations, the communities are nevertheless expanding their capacity to create a hybrid place of plurality, co-existence and interculturalism, while at the same time, modifying and enhancing their position within these power geometries. This process is reflected in what José said while talking to a group of tourists:

La gente nos admira a nosotros porque tenemos la visión y la conciencia, la sabiduría, la inteligencia para saber cómo poder trabajar, cómo poder hacer ganar a la gente. Y no solamente ganar, sino que es tener una visión de cómo como gente podemos levantarnos, y eso es lo que nosotros queremos. ... Nosotros vamos a ser recordados un día, que fuimos las personas que dieron el buen paso, que a través de nosotros, las comunidades están avanzando. Nosotros tenemos el turismo, tenemos el lugar más preciso, y ustedes lo están viendo.

People admire us because we have the vision and the consciousness, the wisdom, the intelligence of knowing how to work, how to make us as people succeed. And not only succeed, but of having a vision of how as people we can stand up, and that is what we want. ... We will be remembered one day, that we were the ones who gave the right step, that through us the communities are advancing. We have tourism, we have the most accurate place, and you are seeing it.

(13 March 2009)

According to Massey (2005), by acknowledging the multiplicity, hybridity, and inevitable negotiations that come with understanding place as a “meeting place” where disparate trajectories intersect, Alto Bío-Bío comes to be seen a “site of negotiation”. And that is precisely what she suggests is the best antidote against essentialist understandings of places and communities, allowing us to consider carefully the politics of place and scale (Massey, 2004). In the next section, I will explore one of the issues more often discussed in the literature about place and scale, which is the relation between the local and the global, to later examine its implications for Trekaleyn.

The (blurred) limits and possibilities of scale

By engaging in a relational construction of Alto Bío-Bío, the communities are increasing their possibilities to use tourism to advance their demands and interests, as well as building spaces for co-existence and decolonisation, and thus highlighting issues of multiplicity and diversity. The negotiation of elements, actors and relations from different origins and locations influences how they relate and participate across different scales. Geographical imaginations influence how relations between scales are understood (Allen and Massey, 1995), and among other elements, tourism can

play a crucial role in them (Mowforth et al., 2008). The ways in which we choose to represent how the world is scaled, or in other words our understandings of scale, are highly significant as they impact “the ways in which we engage with our world and how we think about the possibilities for changing it” (Herod and Wright, 2002c p. 9). In this section I will first explore geographical discussions around scale, to then explore the “scaling” process in which Trekaleyn is involved.

Understanding scale

In the last decades, and in particular since the early 1990s, discussions and theorisations of scale have thrived within geography, mainly due to growing concerns about globalisation (Herod and Wright, 2002c). Understandings of scale and the relations between the local and the global have been deeply transformed since then, and it remains a contested issue among geographers (Howitt, 2003; Marston et al., 2005). It has been acknowledged that there is a general tendency to consider the global as the only scale that really matters, and that whoever controls the global can control all the other scales, for instance in economic or political terms (Herod and Wright, 2002b). This perspective tends to be based on dualistic understandings that contrast the local and the global, a tendency that is arguably necessary for the existence of globalisation discourses (Gibson-Graham, 2002). In these asymmetrical representations, the local is presented as the product or victim of the global, which defines, subordinates and contains it (Massey, 2004), and from which there is no escape, no option of disengagement (Herod and Wright, 2002c). As Escobar writes (2001 p. 155-156) “the erasure of place is a reflection of the asymmetry that exists between the global and the local in much contemporary literature on globalisation, in which the global is associated with space, capital, history and agency while the local, conversely, is linked to place, labour, and tradition — as well as with women, minorities, the poor and, one might add, local cultures”. In Gibson-Graham’s words “the global is a force, the local is its field of play; the global is penetrating, the local penetrated, and transformed” (Gibson-Graham, 2002 p. 27). These ideas of the local and the global could explain the widespread discourses about Alto Bio-Bio that present it as a “victim of progress” (Fletcher, 2001 p. 42), where its agency as a local place within broader processes is either dismissed or reduced to only adjusting them to local circumstances, while the domination of the global remains untransformed (Gibson-Graham, 2002).

Even key theorists critical of globalisation such as David Harvey (1996; 2000), Neil Smith (1993; 1997) and Erik Swyngedoyw (1996; 1997), tend to proclaim the inevitable disfranchisement

and disempowerment of the local. Among them Manuel Castells (2000) has argued that with globalisation, localities become disembodied from their cultural, historical and geographical meaning. This line of thought is the most prevalent within studies of tourism, in particular in Third World or indigenous settings, that interpret it as another tool for the expansion of global capitalism, neo-colonialism and the erosion of local communities and places (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Pleumaron, 1994; Taylor, 1995). These critiques, although aimed to condemn globalisation, produce an unidirectional narrative and thus reinforce ideas of the global as abstract and inherently powerful, and of the local as fixed, closed and “authentic” (Latham, 2002). Also, they neglect alternative conceptualisations of scale and power relations in less hierarchical and more relational terms, and limit the possibilities to overcome marginalisation (Howitt, 1993; 2003). Therefore, they dismiss the local as a site of realistic challenge and possibility, or understand local struggles as effective only when they are conducted at larger scales (Gibson-Graham, 2002).

On the other hand, and parallel to these “globalist” approaches, a defence of place as a thriving location for political and theoretical engagement has emerged (Herod and Wright, 2002c). Although they have been criticised for their alleged romanticism (Watts, 1999), authors such as Gibson-Graham (2002), Escobar (2001) and Massey (1991) have aimed to move beyond binary understandings of the local versus the global and to reassert the value of place. Yet both those engaged in criticising globalisation and those who stress the power of the local and its political potential, tend somehow to fall into dualistic thinking when dealing with the relation between scales. The local and the global remain juxtaposed to each other, either to reinforce the dominance of the global or to suggest place as possible refuge from its tyranny (Herod and Wright, 2002c). As Gibson-Graham (2002) states, despite numerous attempts to overcome this dualism, the global and the local continue to be represented as a hierarchy in which “each derive meaning from what they are not” (p. 31), a hierarchy that has been prevalent in most of the theorisation of scale developed in the last decades, and that has in most cases led to its reification (Marston et al., 2005).

According to Andrew Herod and Melissa Wright (2002c), geographical work on scale has followed at least three main lines. One is the “ontological status of scale”, which centres on whether scales exist as material things, or rather emerge from the struggles and relations between social actors. Second is the “politics of producing scale”, where for instance ideas of “scale jumping” or the simultaneous operation of actors or processes at multiple scales are addressed, where the work of Neil Smith has been crucial (Smith, 1993; 1996). And finally, Herod and Wright identify the different metaphors that have been developed to imagine scales. These metaphors include their definition as

bounded areal units, ladders that allow to climb “up or down” scalar steps, Russian dolls in which larger scales encircle and contain smaller ones, and networks in which the distinction between scales become blurred. However, despite these prolific debates, trying to make sense and explore the complexities of the ways in which everyday activities such as Trekaleyin weave different scales remains a difficult task. As Alan Latham (2002 p. 116) observes “there is an irony in the contrast between the dexterity many individuals, entrepreneurs, and organisations show in negotiating the scaling of the global and the local, and the clumsiness of the dominant contemporary academic descriptions of this scaling”. Even more, this complexity is particularly interesting in the case of indigenous peoples that have in the last decades become at the same time territorially rooted and globally articulated, weaving a global sense of the local with an introverted defence of place (Castree, 2004). Thus, they have developed relations, discourses and subjectivities across scales (Andolina et al., 2009), further complicating ideas of scales by demonstrating how marginalised groups can build social relations that enable them to overcome scalar restrictions to agency (Perreault, 2003a). Also, they have highlighted the possibilities for the transformation of scales through the relations they develop, or as Howitt (2003 p. 150) suggests, the fact that “construction of scale is precisely social action - the concrete processes of organizing a political response, a vehicle for participation, recognition, and change”.

Global or local? Trekaleyin as both and neither

If imagined as networks, scales do not need to be thought in terms of static levels between which people have to negotiate their lives, but can be seen as practices that are not “tightly tied to a single territory but are on the move, circulating through the world, separating and combining in complex and fluid ways” (Latham, 2002 p. 137). In line with an understanding of place as relational, it is this metaphor of scales as networks that I find most useful in trying to understand the experience of Trekaleyin. Despite the fact that Massey (2009) rejects the idea of scales as simple hierarchies, and her relational conception of place aims to blur their distinction, her arguments about the relationships between the local and the translocal somehow maintain a certain over-determination of the global (Gibson-Graham, 2002). Even more, the generality of her arguments does not provide enough detail about how to understand and trace the complexity and multiplicity of objects, ideas and subjectivities that construct the relations through which places are made (Latham, 2002). On the other hand, key theorists such as Bruno Latour and others engaged with actor-network theory (ANT), have provided more sophisticated analytical tools to explore the connections across

networks, which are very relevant to the case of Trekaleyin. He has suggested that both the local and the global “offer points of view on networks that are by nature neither local nor global, but are more or less long and more or less connected” (Latour, 1993 p. 122). Therefore, for ANT the difference is more about the extension and reach of the networks rather than the existence of any predetermined category of scale (Law, 1992). Latour (1993) exemplifies this point by asking whether a railway is local or global, arguing that on one hand it can be thought of as global as it links places around the world, but on the other it is local and constituted by stations, workers and other “local” elements. Although ANT has been called into question because of the difficulty in defining where networks stop or start being meaningful (Jones, 2009a), I find its emphasis on tracing multiscalar, heterogeneous networks comprised by bodies, things and information (Jones, 2009a) very pertinent to exploring Trekaleyin.

ANT does not imply that there are not hierarchies or structures, but rather tries to highlight the fact that the world is constituted by complex entanglements of actor-networks, characterised by its “fibrous, thread-like, wiry, stringy, ropy, capillary character that is never captured by the notions of levels, layers, territories, spheres, categories, structure, systems” (Latour, 1997 p. 2). According to John Law (1992 p. 2), social structures and hierarchies are constituted by complex and heterogeneous assemblages or “networks composed not only of people, but also of machines, animals, texts, money, architectures - any material that you care to mention”. At the centre of ANT is a concern for how varied actors and organisations arrange, mobilise and maintain these networks, which are always subject to change as a result of their relations, and are therefore always “contestable and often contested” (p. 5). Similarly to what Latham (2002) identifies in the case of a restaurant in Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand, Trekaleyin can be seen as both and neither global and local. This restaurant, located in Pōsonby, an old Victorian/Edwardian service strip that has recently become an area of affluent and fashionable restaurants, has global connections such as a French-New Zealand owner, a cosmopolitan atmosphere, and an international cuisine. It is at the same time, however, markedly local as it uses locally obtained produce, staff members are from the area and its service is adapted to the taste of Aucklanders. Therefore, the networks in which the restaurant is embedded, as well as their reach and the “organisational arrangements, power relations and flows of information [that construct it], are the uncertain consequences of the ordering of heterogeneous materials” (Law, 1992 p. 8).

Thus, on the one hand, Trekaleyin could be seen as an effort of the communities to “localise” themselves, by adjusting and creating a tourism initiative that can work in Alto Bío-Bío,

incorporating communities' relations and economic, cultural, territorial and political concerns. In this way, the networks being articulated enrol local actors, traditional objects, Pewenche identities, *ngens*, places, tracks, memories, land claims, horses, trees, and so on. Trekaleyin, then, is deeply embedded in the cultural, social and material context and relationships of Alto Bío-Bío. But on the other hand, Trekaleyin could also be understood as a form of "going global", by enlisting in its networks far away actors, institutions, travels, postcards, money, reports, websites, phone calls, emails, newspapers and notions of "the indigenous", sustainability and development among others that move around the world. Together, all these elements, ideas, things and people help to build Trekaleyin as a tourist initiative that organises trips to the Andes Mountains, while at the same time, moving and circulating in fluid ways far beyond what we understand as Alto Bío-Bío.

Therefore, according to ANT, Trekaleyin's engagements with different "scales" are actually relational effects that emerge from networks and interactions rather than pre-existing entities (Latham, 2002). This notion allows us to understand the ways in which it, like Latham's Auckland restaurant, "operates through a much more promiscuous orderings that escape the idea of scale" (Latham, 2002 p. 138). From this perspective, then, Trekaleyin can be seen as "an achievement, a process, a consequence, a set of resistances overcome, a precarious effect" (Law, 1992 p. 8). But, what does this mean for community members? How do these connections influence their identities and possibilities? In the next section, using Gibson-Graham's (2002) notion of resubjection, I will explore the "active politics of place" by which the communities involved in Trekaleyin, by self-identifying as tourism entrepreneurs, are providing themselves with "the imaginative resources" to challenge and re-create the identities of both Alto Bío-Bío as a place and themselves as citizens, and their relations with the more-than-local (Massey, 2004 p. 7).

Globalisation and identities: The scalar consequences of resistance as resubjection

ANT is particularly attentive to the ways in which power and agency are transmitted across networks. It has been criticised, however, because its disperse views of power preclude it from accounting for inequalities and injustices that arise from uneven power relations (Jones, 2009a). In his efforts to think about the "diverse geographies of power's proximity and reach, and how these play across one another", John Allen (2003 p. 4) has suggested that, whether we choose -as suggested by ANT- to imagine power as decentred, dispersed, immanent and deterritorialised, or -as most

“globalists” do- as being concentrated and spreading from a recognisable centre, the result is the same feeling of hopelessness. This impossibility emerges from the realisation that if we understand power as not having any specific location (“no landmarks to target” (p. 196)), opposition results almost impossible. And on the other hand, if power is understood as centred and condensed somewhere, the only option becomes confrontation in a very unequal setting where the possibilities of succeeding are very limited. Therefore, “the centred/decentred binary is not particularly useful in drawing attention to the mediated arrangements of power that exercise us ... Either way, the effect is potentially disarming” (Allen, 2003 p. 195). However, as Marston et al. (2005 p. 426) have noted, “there is a politics to scale, and whether we engage it or abandon it can have important repercussions for social action – for how best to link social movements, for identifying cracks in perceived ‘armours’, and for highlighting social alternatives”. Therefore, the ways in which we think about scales and the relations across them, influence how we understand, or fail to understand, power and agency, and the possible efficacy of everyday practices.

For Gibson-Graham (2002p. 35-36, emphases in original), to rework the power differential embedded in the local/global binary, it is necessary to reflect not only “about how the world is subjected to globalization (and the global capitalist economy) but how *we are subjected* to the discourse of globalization (and narratives) it dictates for us”. Thus, she suggests that “resubjection” is a process through which people can create alternative identities to rethink their position and possibilities, comprising “embodied interventions that attempt to confront and reshape the ways in which we live and enact the power of the global” (p. 30), opening the possibility to engage in transformative politics in an array of ways. Throughout this thesis I have suggested that members of Trekaleyin articulate a relatively “disperse” understanding of power that is enabling them to engage with tourism to strengthen their autonomy, empowerment, and political participation. Their process of their “transformation” into tourism entrepreneurs has involved the re-appropriation of their Pewenche identities, as well as becoming more vocal about their rights and aspirations. As was discussed in Chapter 5, community members have adopted the identity of tourism entrepreneurs as a tactic for resistance and to enact their citizenship and participate in the public arena. In the first part of this Chapter, I have discussed how this process has been supported by the networks and connectedness Trekaleyin has engaged with. Becoming tourism entrepreneurs, then, has involved a process in which community members have recovered the everyday as a significant site of struggle (de Certeau), while embracing the benefits (and challenges) of extending their networks and relationships to the more-than-local. According to Gibson-Graham’s (2002), their resubjection as tourism entrepreneurs could be allowing them to re-work the ways in

which they think about themselves and engage in relations with other peoples and processes, including more-than-local elements, enabling more empowering and transformative possibilities for them. In fact, Verónica refers to this when she says:

Con esta iniciativa la gente Pewenche se siente capaz de trabajar independiente y no siempre depender de alguien o de instituciones. La gente de Alto Bío-Bío está muy mal acostumbrada porque desde el gobierno de Pinochet hacia adelante las comunidades están acostumbradas a recibir, a que le den. Dicen las instituciones “ya, demosle a estos pobrecitos”.

... Pero la gente aprende a través de este trabajo. Aprende a relacionarse con otras personas que vienen de afuera. Trabajamos con varias instituciones que han apoyado esto para que salga adelante, y esto es interesante, porque como te decía uno va generando contactos, va haciendo lazos.

... Por eso Trekaleyin ha sido tan importante, porque la gente está cambiando, porque no está acostumbrada a dar el gran paso que nosotros hemos dado, porque esto es un paso que nosotros estamos dando como empresarios turísticos, y los demás igual lo ven.

With this initiative the Pewenche people feel they're able to work independently and not always depend on someone else or institutions. People in Alto Bío-Bío have been spoiled because since Pinochet's government they have been used to receive, to be given. Institutions say: “ok, let's give to these poor people”.

... But people learn through this work. They learn to relate to others that come from outside. We work with several institutions that have supported us to get this moving and it is interesting, because as I was saying to you, one goes developing contacts, creating bonds.

... That's why Trekaleyin has been so important, because people are changing, because they are not used to taking the big step we have taken, because it's a step we're taking as tourism entrepreneurs, and others see it.

(28 March 2009)

Verónica refers here to the ways in which becoming tourism entrepreneurs is allowing them to change the way they relate to others, crafting a more enabling position and reworking power imbalances. She also mentions the transformations community members are experiencing, which Ramiro further develops in the following quote:

Ramiro: Yo creo que acompañado con los de afuera ha habido cambios. La gente acá, hasta yo mismo mi papá no me dejaba hablar *chedungún* cuando niño porque no iba a poder estudiar. Y él tenía esa idea de que nosotros deberíamos abandonar nuestra cultura. Eso lo pensaban todos los viejos. Querían que desapareciera porque la gente tenía miedo por la discriminación grande que existía contra nuestro pueblo. Pero por eso hoy nosotros hablamos de conservar, de rescatar muchas cosas que se perdieron. Y esto requiere de un esfuerzo voluntario para lograr eso, el gobierno o las instituciones no van a decir “van a tener que hacer esto”

Marcela: ¿y qué pasó? ¿Cómo fue que cambio?

Ramiro: Porque nació más fuerza, más interés, más ganas de hacerse respetar. Yo me acuerdo que antes a mi papá lo retaban, a mi mamá le decían “china de mierda”, y yo empecé ya sentir enojo. No, eso no puede ser, no podemos dejarnos humillar por un par de blancos. Entonces de esa forma empezó la fuerza, el reconocimiento, de de decir “ya, somos Pewenche, no tenemos porqué andar ocultándolo”. Por eso nosotros hoy estamos en esto de buscar formas de autodesarrollarse como persona, eso es lo que tratamos de hacer, que seamos nosotros mismos los autores del cuento, no seamos objetos pues, que no nos sigan usando como objetos.

... Y yo creo que vamos en buena dirección. El turismo no es un tema que se habla aquí no más, sino un tema a nivel nacional, a nivel de país, a nivel internacional, el turismo es un gran tema.

Ramiro: I believe that accompanied by people from outside, changes have occurred. People here, even myself, my dad didn't allow me to speak *chedungún* when I was a kid because I was not going to be able to study. And he had this idea that we should forget our culture. That's what the old people thought. They wanted it to disappear as people were afraid because of the huge discrimination that existed against our people. But that's why we speak about talking, saving so many things that got lost. And that requires a voluntary effort because the government or the institutions won't say “you will have to do this”.

Marcela: And what happened? How was that change?

Ramiro: Because more strength was born, more interest, more will to be respected. I remember that before my dad was revoked, my mum called names, and I started to get angry. No, this can't be, we can't allow ourselves to be humiliated by a couple of white guys. So this way started the strength, the acknowledgement to say “ok, we are

Pewenche, we don't have to hide it". That's why we are in this, searching for ways of self-development as persons, that's what we are trying to do, so we are the authors of this, not to be objects, not to continue to be used as objects.

... And I believe that we are going in the right direction. Tourism is not something people speak only here, it is a national topic, at country level, at international level, tourism is a big issue.

(22 January 2009)

Ramiro here speaks of a process of transformation that, although much broader than tourism, has prompted community members to transform the ways in which they think of themselves, of respect and of their possibilities to move from being "objects" of development to "subjects" of their own "self-development". Their transformation into tourism entrepreneurs, then, is part of a broader process of resubjectivation, but is nevertheless an important expression of that transformation and a way to enact it. Ramiro knows that tourism is not just a local phenomenon, and refers to the fact that it is a topic at national and international levels to make his point more valid, to demonstrate Trekaleyn efforts are part of something "bigger" that shows they are "in the right direction". Both Verónica and Ramiro make clear that tourism is entailing the transformation of their subjectivities, in which relations and others play a key role. Gibson-Graham's concept of resubjectivation is extremely helpful to understand how the embracement of this new subjectivity as tourism entrepreneurs involves a process through which community members are rethinking themselves as agents capable of being involved, and create and move across local and more-than-local networks, without necessarily succumbing to the devastating domination of the global. All the more, by this resubjectivation they are opening possibilities to create transformative politics of place (Gibson-Graham, 2002), considering themselves as subjects instead of objects of development and globalisation, and transforming Alto Bio-Bio in a connected place of political innovation and possibilities. Gibson-Graham (2002 p. 40) has also noted that it is a process resulting from the "long histories of interconnected cultural and social practices". As Verónica and Ramiro suggest, resubjectivation for members of Trekaleyn is a process through which the Pewenche have sought to maintain their resistance in unfavourable contexts along with a diversity of other tactics, building on and being informed by history and memories. Therefore, for them this process of resubjectivation involves the reactivation and articulation of multiple elements, memories, emotions, beings and knowledges that are being enrolled and mobilised through the heterogeneous networks that connect them with Alto Bio-Bio and beyond.

Although clearly this resubjectivation does not change everything for the better overnight, and is transient and always under construction, involving the negotiation of a number of conflicts and tensions, it is nevertheless, opening room for hope and empowerment. For Escobar, these kinds of networks and relationships can be acknowledged as “an ensemble of new logics operating at the levels of ontology, the social and the political” (Escobar, 2007 p. 110 - 111), that are allowing groups and individuals to “become new kinds of subjects of place and space” (p. 110).

Conclusion

For Gibson-Graham, the idea of resubjectivation is based on an understanding of power as “diffuse, partial, constitutive, and sustaining” (2002 p. 51). Coming back to de Certeau’s (1984) notions of tactics and resistance explored in the previous chapter, I want to suggest that the adoption of the identity of tourism entrepreneurs, an allegedly neoliberal subjectivity, is a transformative practice that together with emphasising the unstable, shifting and contested nature of scales and places, is transforming and subverting prevalent and negative understandings of neoliberal forms of subjectivities. Much academic work has suggested that by spreading notions of participation, depoliticisation and entrepreneurship, neoliberalism promotes disempowering subjectivities (Bryant, 2002; McCarthy and Prudham, 2004), which has also been noted as one of the consequences of tourism (West and Carrier, 2004). In fact, Alex Latta (2005) has written about how Alto Bío-Bío is being integrated into the “new global order”. From a “globalist” perspective he describes it as “a place that exists in the margins of the processes of globalisation, integrated in externally driven process of change, and over which local communities have very little control” (Latta, 2005 p. 171, my translation). According to him, community members have been persuaded to become “neoliberal subjects” in order to be integrated in limited ways into national development, a perspective that would have a very different reading of Trekaleyn to the one I am suggesting here.

In this chapter I have questioned the idea of Alto Bío-Bío as an isolated, frontier place, and have instead suggested that it can be also understood as open and relational (Massey, 1991). I have also challenged the idea that Trekaleyn is another example of the local being penetrated by the global, and have demonstrated that it is both local and global without being wholly either (Latham, 2002). This is possible because of community members’ involvement in tourism and their resubjectivation as touristic entrepreneurs. I have suggested that the adoption of the identity of entrepreneur as a tactic of resistance, or a transformative practice, is expanding the possibilities of

community members to organise themselves and put forward their interests, as well as their ideas around Alto Bío-Bío and its connectivity. However, although an allegedly neoliberal subjectivity, without being necessarily as disempowering and harmful as others have suggested, and acknowledging the fact that neoliberalism can also open opportunities for the renegotiation of marginalisation and inequalities (Cupples, 2005; Perreault and Martin, 2005; Valdivia, 2005), this “neoliberal” subjectivity, as every resistance that entails negotiation, also involves complicity, tensions and conflicts. In fact, it presents challenges such as having to deal with neoliberal understandings of citizens as “self-governing individuals who exercise economic and political choices” according to their own interests (Bondi and Laurie, 2005 p. 5), and that due to the retreat of the state have had increasingly to take charge of their own self-development (Laurie et al., 2003). But beyond issues of identity, neoliberalism also has implications for places and territories due to its managerial approach and for presenting them as resources in the market, which has been addressed by the literature on neoliberal natures. Thus questions arise around how this neoliberal context is affecting communities’ territories and their relations with natural resources, and how members of Trekaleyin are dealing with this. Even more, it points to the question of what do we actually understand neoliberalism and nature. In the coming chapter, using literature on neoliberal nature and relational ontologies, I will explore how neoliberalism, a concept usually associated and even used as synonym to the global (Larner, 2003) (and therefore of its power) and of particular relevance for Chile, has affected Alto Bío-Bío, and how it is being negotiated and transformed in the defence and creation of place through Trekaleyin.

CHAPTER 7

BEYOND NEOLIBERALISM AND NATURE: NEOLIBERAL NATURE, RELATIONAL ONTOLOGIES AND HYBRIDITY IN TREKALEYIN



Community members travelling through Alto Bío-Bío mountains
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

Introduction

During a horseback riding trip to the mountains with Trekaleyin, I met César Millahueique. A Mapuche poet with an eclectic history that involves a period on exile, he was then the person in charge of Indigenous Cultural Heritage at the National Monuments Council (Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales, CMN). At one point during the trip he mentioned the significance of

travelling through those ancient paths, which he later on elaborated during an interview in his office. He said:

Para mí [la cabalgata] fue un momento perfecto, un momento de lo real maravilloso. La sensación de cabalgar con la conciencia que esto se viene haciendo desde hace un par de miles de años atrás²¹. Y que los que están en el lugar ven esa ruta así. ... Es una ruta milenaria. Y esta ruta milenaria tiene códigos singulares, y esa singularidad está muy relacionada al marco espiritual. Bastaba ver cómo nos movíamos nosotros (turistas) y como se movían ellos (guías). Ellos permanentemente en la búsqueda del silencio, y todos nosotros que éramos citadinos en la búsqueda del murmullo y del ruido permanente. Es otra la forma (*silencio*). Hay una imagen extremadamente bella [cuando] de pronto se ve en el horizonte bajando hacia el valle a un señor que trae su piño de animales. Ya empezaba la [temporada de] veranada de ellos, que son personas de la montaña. Ese día fue casualidad que se cruzó con nosotros, pero el tipo, él no está para la postal, él es parte de esa montaña. Esta imagen seguramente debe ser recordada por quien era el padre de su padre, quien vive en esas montañas. Y es que el patrimonio cultural finalmente son la gente, las personas. Esas montañas no tienen sentido sin la significación que le dan esas personas, por eso esas comunidades tienen que ser reconocidas en su plenitud, el derecho a la tierra, tienen que ser dueños de la tierra, eso es lo más urgente y ha sido vulnerado, y el derecho a revitalizar toda su estructura cosmovisual.

For me [the trip] was a perfect moment, a moment of magical realism. The feeling of riding with the awareness that this has been done for a couple of thousand years (see footnote 21), and that those that are in this place understand this route like this. ... It is an ancient route. And this ancient route has unique codes, and that uniqueness is closely related to the spiritual framework. It was just a matter of looking at how we (tourists) moved and how they (guides) moved. They are constantly in search of silence, and all of us who were city dwellers in search of constant hum and noise. It's another way (*silence*). There is an extremely beautiful image [when] suddenly on the horizon we see coming down to the valley a man who brings his flock of animals. [The season of] "veranada"

²¹ Although, horses were introduced by the colonisers in the sixteenth century, these routes were extensively travelled long before.

was beginning for them, who are people of the mountains. That day it was a coincidence that he passed us, but the guy, he is not for the postcard, he is part of that mountain. This image must surely be remembered by who was the father of his father, those who live in these mountains. Because in the end cultural heritage is the people. These mountains have no significance without the meaning given by these people, that is why these communities must be recognised in their plenitude, their right to land, they must be the owners of the land, that's the most urgent let's say, and has been violated, along with the right to revitalise the entire cosmological structure.

(10 April 2009)

I will return to Millahueique's image later.

Despite the state's new multicultural administrative tools and the promises of "development" made during the construction of the Ralco dam, indicators have proved otherwise and in 2009 Alto Bío-Bío was declared the poorest municipality in Chile (Ministerio de Planificación, 2010 p. 6). This fact has not been ignored by the media, that often emphasises Alto Bío-Bío as a site of failure, loss and conflict (see for instance Drysdale, 2011). They talk about misunderstandings and unfulfilled commitments, such as the one of not flooding the bodies buried in Quepuca cemetery during the construction of the dam, which has generated a struggle to recover them from under the water by part of the communities, highlighting the contrast between communities and corporate and state views with regards to place, ancestors and nature. But how can this striking "clash of ontologies" (De la Cadena, 2009) be faced by the communities? Many have argued that communities have been subsumed into despair and alienation. In this chapter I suggest that, although true in part, that has not been the only response. Simultaneously and interwoven with frustration and anger, there are also creative forms of resistance among the communities, which are often not acknowledged to their full extent. Their invisibility is usually because they are part of the "unthinkable", or as defined by Mario Blaser and Marisol de la Cadena (2009), that for which we lack sufficient tools to understand and think about.

In this chapter, by questioning ideas of neoliberalism and nature, I want to explore the ways in which Trekaleyn, as one among those "invisible" responses, is articulating and defending Pewenche ontologies and their relations to their territories in a neoliberal context. This is a needed contribution to the inclusion of indigenous voices and perspectives in the ways in which tourism is articulated with their relations with more-than-human beings (Wright et al., 2009). It also

contributes to the recent call made for the exploration of creative and unexpected counterhegemonic ways to relate neoliberalism and nature (Bakker, 2010), and in particular, to embrace “ontological pluralism” by acknowledging indigenous ontologies in discourses, policies and practices around resource management (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006), as well as in their more-than-political struggles (De la Cadena, 2009). Thus, I will explore the impacts Trekaleyin is having on the destabilisation of neoliberalism, and its multiple possible impacts on nature.

The construction of Alto Bío-Bío as a relational place, that is both local and global, together with their adoption of the “neoliberal identity” of tourism entrepreneurs, is having important implications in the ways in which neoliberalism affects “nature” in Alto Bío-Bío, adopting a broad and hybrid approach to both concepts. In this chapter I aim to explore the impacts Trekaleyin is having on the destabilisation of neoliberalism, and its multiple possible impacts on nature. As Millahueique said well, the touristic transit through these tracks is also a physical and emotional journey through different times and meanings, a moment and place when they are re-activated and articulated. It is enabling the construction of multiple possible neoliberalisms and politics loaded with ancestors, laughter, history, pain and resistance. In order to do so, I will first discuss some of the main issues addressed in the literature on neoliberal natures, and then explore the case of Chile, and of Alto Bío-Bío, under this light. I will then engage with a particular approach within the literature on neoliberal nature that questions the ideas of neoliberalism and nature, bringing into the discussions literature on relational ontologies in general and of the Mapuche in particular. Finally, I will discuss how, through their interweaving of multiple and contested elements and actors, community members are re-working and resisting the neoliberalisation of nature in their territories, which has implications both beyond the local and indigenous peoples.

Neoliberal natures

The ways in which Alto Bío-Bío is constructed and understood by different actors is framed by competing discourses around place, territories and nature, which have changed over time. Since the 1980s one of the most influential narratives both shaping and being transformed in Alto Bío-Bío has been that of neoliberalism, particularly since Chile is known to be one of the first and most radical experiments in the application of neoliberalism under Pinochet’s military regime (Klein, 2007; Larner, 2003; Lawson, 2007; Murray, 2009). Neoliberalism, then, is key in framing the context in which Trekaleyin operates, and is usually interpreted as an all-encompassing spoiling and

disempowering force. Despite the difficulties and risks implicated in defining neoliberalism, in this section I will explore both the influence of neoliberalism and the communities' defence of place and territory, understanding them as a two way conversation. This approach will allow me to examine the symbolic and material consequences of the process of resubjection, resistance and destabilisation of scales in which the communities are involved, and the consequences that has for territorial defence. I seek to reinforce the value of everyday practices in the transformation of neoliberalism, understanding that "far from being monolithic, neoliberalism is characterized by variation and hybridity within policies, and has multiple and contradictory aspects regarding neoliberalising spaces, subjects, and states" (Radcliffe, 2007 p. 390). In doing so, rather than aiming to demonstrate how neoliberalism is adapted to the context of Alto Bio-Bio, I intend to bring to light the enlarged possibilities for the communities to rework and displace it through tourism, as well as the ways in which tourism has become an entry point for broader discussions about interconnections between people, place(s) and non-humans.

Neoliberalism has been described as "both a political economic and environmental debacle" (McCarthy and Prudham, 2004 p. 276). Its impacts on nature have increasingly been explored, mainly by geographers, in the recent and fast-growing debates over what has been called "neoliberal natures" (Bakker, 2010; Castree, 2008a; Mansfield, 2008). This body of literature has identified the ways in which under neoliberalism nature has been transformed and governed by arguably neutral and non-political means (Castree, 2008b). In the belief that the market is the best mechanism to allocate goods and services efficiently, neoliberal environmental governance and management have become highly technocratic, rationalist and economic-driven, dominated by metrics governed by science (McCarthy and Prudham, 2004). Nik Heynen and Paul Robbins (2005) argue that based on these principles, there are four broad relations involved in the neoliberalisation of nature: governance or institutional changes to allow greater market control over nature; valuation or the pricing of natural elements; enclosure or the "capture of common resources and exclusion of the communities to which they are linked" (p. 6); and privatisation, which can be understood as a form of enclosure in which resources are turned over to firms and individuals. These processes restructure and reinforce liberal social relations to nature, creating what David Harvey (2003) has called accumulation by dispossession.

Identified as a distinct environmental project (McCarthy and Prudham, 2004), neoliberal technocratic policies are underpinned by the separation of nature and society, where nature can be known through science and is conceptualised as either a resource or a problem (Castree, 2011).

According to Latour this separation is one of the basic tenets of modernity, where “the representation of nonhumans belongs to science, but science is not allowed to appeal to politics; [and] the representation of citizens belongs to politics” (1993 p. 28). However, due to the impossibility of the actual separation of nature and society, this division has caused the proliferation of the “hybrids” (mixtures of nature and culture) whose very existence it denies, and the paradox of the difficulty to grasp things as “simultaneously real, like nature, narrated, like discourse, and collective, like society” (Latour, 1993 p. 6). But even if illusory, Escobar (1999) suggests that this modern separation has led to the “governmentalisation” of nature, that is, its transformation into an “object of expert knowledge, regularized, simplified and disciplined, managed, planned for, etc.” (p. 6).

Neoliberalism, as a type of governmentality, is a discourse that produces a particular kind of nature, society and political subjects. Thus, very often the literature on neoliberal nature has assumed that neoliberalism is a case of the “global penetrating the local”, to use Gibson-Graham’s words (2002). So, neoliberalism is commonly linked “with the ‘upscaling’ of regulation such that local, regional, and national differences are being subordinated to international and global similarities in how natural resources and other things are governed” (Castree, 2008a p. 161). However, more critical work has also emphasised the ways in which differences in the political, historical and geographical context, as well as in the biophysical characteristics of “nature”, shape and distort general neoliberal interventions on the ground (Castree, 2008a; McCarthy and Prudham, 2004).

Environmental concerns and movements arguably have posed the most salient and effective challenges to neoliberalism, but over time environmentalism and neoliberalism have assimilated elements of each other. This is evident, for instance, in the growing relevance of approaches such as green capitalism, (free) market and liberal environmentalism, ecological modernisation, as well as the “greening” of multilateral banks and development policies, the surge of corporate green-wash and the now hegemonic position of the sustainable development doctrine endorsed by international financial and aid organisations (Bakker, 2005; 2010; Carruthers, 2001; Gudynas, 1999; McCarthy and Prudham, 2004). This “greening” has also influenced tourism, and for decades now alternative forms of tourism, in particular ecotourism, have aimed to address environmental concerns (Scheyvens, 2002). However, ecotourism’s environmental harmlessness has been questioned (Butcher, 2005). But it has also been criticised for being another exercise in power to reinforce Western and “modern” ideas about nature as separated, prior to or with as few human interventions as possible (“wilderness”), and of “others” (mainly indigenous) as different, authentic and exotic (West and Carrier, 2004). As the expression of neoliberal environmental and economic values, these particular views of people and

nature are defined and imposed through ecotourism via the preferences of tourists, experts and aid and financial institutions (Mowforth and Munt, 1998).

Neoliberal natures in Chile and Alto Bío-Bío

Despite commonly being referred to as “one successful model”, neoliberal history in Chile is actually comprised of several sub-periods of different and competing approaches and outcomes. Ricardo Ffrench-Davis (2010) has identified five broad approaches to neoliberalism from 1973 until today, that, together with economic growth, have led to increases in inequalities (Pizarro, 2005) and environmental degradation (Altieri and Rojas, 1999; Carruthers, 2001). Some have even argued that in Chile neoliberalism has been “a path towards the nineteenth century” (Aníbal Pinto quoted in Gómez Leyton, 2010 p. 29), as it has led to a model based on the export of natural resources to world markets, and the increased influence of foreign investors.

Chile is one of the Latin American countries that has made deeper neoliberal reforms with regards to the environment and resources (Liverman and Vilas, 2006). Here the economic-driven, technocratic, science-oriented approach mentioned in the neoliberal natures literature has deeply influenced legislation, policies and norms related to the environment (Budds, 2009; Liverman and Vilas, 2006). In fact, David Carruthers (2001) asserts that, based on Pinochet’s legacy of a minimised role of the state and an overemphasised market, market environmentalism and green capitalism have dramatically shaped Chilean environmental policies. These policies have involved the “expansion of private property rights into the remaining commons (land, air, water, species) ... [where the] state sets the parameters, introducing and co-ordinating market-based incentives” (p. 349). However, lack of state capacity, funding and autonomy, together with a continued focus on privatisation, export promotion and the maximisation of economic growth, have meant that this approach has resulted in dramatic environmental outcomes and numerous social conflicts (Carruthers, 2001). These effects have been particularly felt by more disadvantaged groups. In particular, Mapuche communities have been affected by interventions in areas such as hydropower, forestry, mining, fisheries, land development and the constructions of roads, highways and landfills affecting not only their environment but also their economic, territorial, social and cultural situation (Carruthers and Rodríguez, 2009; Haughney, 2006; 2007; Palomino-Schalscha, 2001; Toledo, 2006; Yáñez, 2008).

Property rights regimes have been introduced in several sectors, involving processes of valuation to allow the market to set the prices. Also, enclosure of common resources has been

developed for their technical management, which has profited a minority and led to greater social inequality (Carruthers, 2001). Forests, fisheries, water and mining are among the most impacted sectors, the latter two being the ones that most directly affect Alto Bío-Bío. The privatisation of water started in 1981 with the creation of the Water Code as part of the neoliberal reforms developed during Pinochet's government. The code considered water a commodity separated from land and created water rights for all flowing surface water and groundwater resources. If available, water rights are granted perpetually for free, and if not they can be purchased from the current owners at market prices, with the Dirección Nacional de Aguas (National Water Directorate) playing an administrative role (Budds, 2009). According to Ingo Gentes (2008), for over 20 years the regulations were neither clear nor respected by those with big interests in water, leading to the concentration of water rights in the hands of a few. Among the privileged is ENDESA, a Spanish power company owned by the Italian state company Enel that controls 81% of the total water rights allocated for non-consumptive use in Chile, mainly for hydroelectric purposes (Gentes, 2008). ENDESA also owns most of Alto Bío-Bío's water rights, including 80% of the Bío-Bío River, which is one of the causes of the construction of the two hydroelectric dams in the area as well as the prospect of building several others in both the Bío Bío and the Queuco valley (Azócar et al., 2005; Molina and Correa, 1998). Although the code was modified in 2005, changes were superficial and the basic principles and procedures of the original version remained (Gentes, 2008).

The approval of the Mining Code in 1983 consolidated the neoliberal model of mining exploitation. This model was later reinforced and expanded during the 1990s with the opening of mining to foreign investments. The code establishes the procedures to grant "areas of mining concession", which give the right to prospect and excavate any "open and uncultivated" land (with minor exceptions) except for those already contemplated in another concession. During the 1980s other laws and the tax system also promoted mining in Chile, an economic sector in which tax evasion was so widespread that it led to discussions over "mining royalties" during the 1990s and the creation of a specific tax for copper mines in 2004 (Yáñez, 2008). The growth of the mining industry in Chile has generated environmental and social impacts, which have particularly affected indigenous peoples and lands from northern Chile such as the Aymara, Lickanantay, Quechua, Colla and Diaguita, (Yáñez, 2008) as well as the Mapuche in the south (Toledo Llancaqueo, 2006b). In Alto Bío-Bío mineral rights to silica, gold, silver, copper, molybdenum, zinc, lead and iron mines, together with other unidentified concessions, have been granted in an area of over 13,000 ha comprising both valleys, constituting a potential conflict between communities and the owners of the concessions (Azócar et al., 2005).

For Elicura Chihuailaf (1999) the privatisation of Mapuche lands began with the creation of Mapuche reservations through the *Títulos de Merced*. According to him, the term privatisation (“privatización”) comes from “to deprive” (“privar”) or dispossess, which is exactly what he says has been happening for Mapuche since then. Together with blatant usurpation, in Chile indigenous lands have over time entered into the market in two ways. The first is through the division of indigenous collective land titles and their transformation into private property. This took place through a series of legal reforms that began in 1927 and culminated under the Pinochet regime in 1979 with the passing of the Law Number 2,568. This law made this division extremely easy and facilitated dispossession, and more symbolically, delegitimised indigenous common property systems (Calbucura, 1996). Of the eleven communities in Alto Bío-Bío only four, all of them in the Queuco valley, have communal property of their lands, being among the minority of the communities that still hold collective titles in the country (Aylwin, 2002; Azócar et al., 2005; Molina and Correa, 1998). Later, this law was modified with the passing of the Indigenous Law in 1993 during the first post-dictatorship government. But ironically, this new law laid the foundations for the second way in which indigenous lands moved into the market. It created the Lands and Waters Fund (“Fondo de Aguas y Tierras”) which, administered by CONADI, is to be used to buy privately owned lands to give them to indigenous peoples (Ley 19253, 1993). Buying lands at market prices has led to speculation and to what some have called “conflict prices”, or the inflated prices of lands in areas of heightened conflict due to speculation (Toledo Llancaqueo, 2006a). Also this procedure has further contributed to the division of indigenous lands as the state has persisted in prioritising the titling of individual properties for community members, and often purchases land that is not necessarily being claimed by communities but is available in the market and is considered to be of “equivalent” or higher quality (Aylwin, 2009). The law also seeks to protect indigenous land by stating that it cannot be sold, dispossessed or acquired unless it is between communities or individuals of the same ethnic group, or under very special circumstances with the approval of CONADI. However, this exception was used in Alto Bío-Bío for the construction of the Ralco dam when, against the will of the then national directors of CONADI -and the dismissal of two of them as a result of their opposition and the resistance of most members of the communities, ENDESA swapped Pewenche land for land either higher in the mountains used as “veranadas”, or in sectors outside Alto Bío-Bío (Azócar et al., 2005; Namuncura, 1999).

In the Queuco valley, as in the rest of Alto Bío-Bío, demands for usurped lands have prevailed because ancestral demarcations are still clearly remembered by community members. Here, land alienation started in the mid-nineteenth century, and in 1919 the first *Títulos de Merced* were

granted to all the communities of the Queuco valley but Pitril, through a partial and incomplete process that did not include big portions of the “veranadas” and Pewén tree forests (Molina and Correa, 1998). Despite CONADI’s land transfers during recent decades, “veranadas” and Pewén tree forests still comprise a big portion of the territories being claimed by the communities. According to Azócar et al. (2005), over 50% of them are currently either in hands of individuals or in “ownership conflict”. Furthermore, only 45.4% of the total 227,107.6 ha of extension of Alto Bío-Bío, is legally owned by Pewenche people (see Figure 8 in page 70). Pedro, in the following quote, refers to this process of land alienation and makes clear his commitment to recover them:

Estos terrenos son de un particular que un día llegó e inscribió. Según contaba mi abuelo llegaron personas con harta plata y le pidieron a la gente de acá que les arrendaran, y la gente les pasaba y así fueron quitando. Al final quitaron todo ese terreno y lo legalizaron, dijeron que fue una compra pero nunca vendieron. Entonces nosotros los jóvenes estamos trabajando por esto ahora, y la gente adulta se siente culpable. Pero nosotros no queremos entrar en eso de que porqué, quién, cómo hicieron eso. Tenemos la visión de salir y recuperar nuevamente el territorio, para ellos y para nuestros hijos. Y vamos a luchar para recuperar todo lo que hemos perdido, pero yo creo que no hemos perdido en verdad, sino que nos tienen tomado no más el terreno.

These lands are of a private owner who one day came and registered them. According to my grandfather rich people arrived and asked the people from here to lease their lands, and people did and that way they started taking over. At the end they took over all this land and legalised it, said it was a sale but they never sold. So now we young people are working on this, and the elders feel guilty. But we don’t want to go into that of asking why did you do this, who, how. We have the vision to go out and recover back the territory, for them and for our offspring. And we will fight to recover all that we have lost, but I don’t think we have lost it really, rather our lands are only being occupied.

(21 April 2009)

Pedro refers here to the historic memory of the process of land usurpation, where people clearly remember how it took place. He also talks about the intergenerational dynamics around it in the communities. Old people feel guilty for not being able to protect their lands and young generations have a different position and the will to recover them. He also asserts his distrust of the

Chilean legal system, as also does Ramiro in the following quote referring to the current threats that Alto Bío-Bío is facing and its historical context (see Figure 31):

Hay grandes proyectos enfocados hacia el Alto Bío-Bío como centrales hidroeléctricas y la geoterma. Antiguamente a la gente los echaron para acá, mataron a la gente de la zona central y los arrinconaron para acá arriba, y hoy día están interesados en esto y están sacando la gente para abajo, han comprado tierras para llevarse a la gente para abajo. Eso es una estrategia para que se vaya desocupando este territorio y poder sacar la riqueza. Yo por eso no estoy de acuerdo con esos grandes proyectos que no benefician a la gente, más bien empobrecen a la gente. Puede haber muchas centrales, muchas geotermas pero nunca la gente común y corriente, más bien nosotros los Pewenches nunca vamos a ser beneficiados por eso, sino que vamos a ser cada vez más pobres. Eso es una amenaza. Igual que las empresas mineras por un lado, las aguas por otro lado así ya están inscritas a nombre de particulares! de ENDESA también. O sea, la ley da para eso, para que alguien sea dueño, lo inscriba como el agua por ejemplo. Y es que nosotros no nos dábamos ni cuenta, ni sabíamos de qué se trataba. Las leyes las inventaron ellos y las aplican ellos donde quieren aplicarlas.

There are major projects focused on Alto Bío-Bío such as hydroelectrical dams and the geothermic plant. In the past people were forced up here, they killed the people from the central valley and forced them to come up here, and today they are interested in this and are forcing us to go down, they have bought lands to move people down the valleys. That's a strategy to vacate this territory and extract its wealth. That's why I don't agree with these big projects that do not benefit people, rather make them poor. There might be many dams, many geothermic plants but ordinary people, let us as Pewenche will never benefit from that but will become poorer every day. That's a threat. Same with mining companies and the waters. They are all registered by privates! Including Endesa. In other words the law allows that, for somebody to be the owner, register the water for instance. And we didn't realize, we didn't even know what it was all about. They invented the laws and they apply them where they want to apply them.

(22 January 2009)



Figure 31. Sign in a bus stop in Queuco valley road. It reads: “No to the geothermal plant”

Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

Ramiro, talking about dispossession, traces a clear continuity between what happened in the past and the challenges they face at present. It is about others (“they”) creating laws and procedures according to their interests that make poorer and strip the Pewenche from their “wealth”, their resources. Among these threats he identifies the prospect of hydroelectrical dams, the geothermal plant, as well as the procedures to grant mining concessions and water rights, that although can generate wealth will not benefit them. But he also states that the procedure of buying land in other areas outside Alto Bío-Bío by CONADI is being used in detriment of the communities and for the benefit of third parties, “vacating” Alto Bío-Bío and making it “more available”. For Ramiro, it is evident that the process of dispossession the communities have suffered is based, in the past and today, on alien, imposed and unknown legal systems. Moreover, Ramiro distrusts these systems as it has been proved that they have not been created or applied for the benefit of the communities, which include not only the deceptive land grabbing of the past as Pedro suggests, but also the more recent environmental governance changes introduced since the 1990s, like the controversial approval of Ralco dam illustrates.

In Chile, as in most of Latin America, environmental concerns were virtually absent from both the political agenda and the policy and legal realms until the 1990s, when sustainable development gained prominence (Gudynas, 1999). This coincided with the end of the dictatorship in

Chile, and the newly elected governments introduced environmental discourses highlighting sustainability, accountability and efficiency (Carruthers, 2001). The passing of the Environmental Law in 1994, along with a complex body of environmental norms and the creation of CONAMA, were the expression of these interests. But they soon entered into deep contradictions with the governments' obsession with economic growth, especially through the exploitation of natural resources. This resulted in poor environmental outcomes and the increased separation between what is written on paper and what is actually done (Altieri and Rojas, 1999). These laws and CONAMA, transformed to the Ministry for the Environment at the beginning of 2010, are marked by a neoliberal and managerial approach based on supposedly "neutral", technical and scientific principles. For instance, when evaluating projects through the environmental impact assessment system, the state supposedly only considers technical factors. These decisions, however, are made within a strongly economic-driven political and institutional context, leading Carruthers (2001 p. 350) to argue that Chile "suffers from a problem of 'agency capture'", or what McCarthy and Prudham (2004 p. 280) have more generally called the "false dichotomies between the state and the market". The controversial approval of Ralco dams in Alto Bío-Bío is a clear example of this. For instance, despite being "technically assessed", President Eduardo Frei, an hydroelectric engineer himself, intervened directly in favour of its approval lobbying and removing critical authorities from their positions (Carruthers, 2001; Namuncura, 1999). These neoliberalised government institutions, despite their supposed inclusion of participatory mechanisms, have also failed to effectively deal with the different competing meanings, uses and relations to "nature" and resources among different actors (Carruthers and Rodríguez, 2009), and are based only on a Western and "scientific" approach, denying indigenous ontologies.

Overall, Chile has developed a neoliberal project that has profoundly transformed the relations with and uses of natural resources. This project has entailed the enclosure, valuation and privatisation of natural elements and the creation and modification of institutions and regulations that, despite their allegedly technical and neutral character, have strong ideological biases (Heynen and Robbins, 2005). In Alto Bío-Bío this project, done mainly on the understanding of Pewenche lands as empty and available (Azócar et al., 2005) and the denial of their ontological difference, has constructed a discourse of the need for an efficient and technocratic management of Alto Bío-Bío resources to incorporate them into the market economy. Tourism could therefore be understood as another path to economic integration and the "rational" use of Alto Bío-Bío's nature, involving discourses of sustainability and environmental management. This is indeed one of the main reasons for the Municipalidad and other institutions' support for tourism in the area, as the following quote

from a Municipality authority illustrates, and undoubtedly, it is a logic to which Trekaleyin also appeals:

Otra fortaleza que hay acá en la comuna es el paisaje, lo que se lograría cuidar y aprovechar con el turismo. Pero hay que pensar qué tipo de turismo también, porque si viene un modelo muy invasivo tarde o temprano aquí terminamos en destrucción y la idea es manejar los recursos naturales apropiadamente.

Another strength here in the comuna is the landscape, which could be preserved and exploited with tourism. But it is also necessary to think about what kind of tourism, because if a too invasive model is applied sooner or later it will be destroyed and the idea is to manage natural resources properly.

(2 April 2009)

Thus concepts such as carrying capacity, environmental monitoring and land-use planning are being used in discussions around tourism by different actors, including members of Trekaleyin. However, what I suggest is that Trekaleyin is at the same time doing something different than merely complying with the unstoppable influence of the (global) market, the limited understanding of participation allowed in neoliberal terms (Latta, 2005; Bryant, 2002), and managerial approaches to “nature” and their resources. Through their engagement with tourism, members of Trekaleyin are bringing into neoliberal approaches to nature their particular ways and connections with place and more-than-human beings, dreams and longstanding political and territorial struggles as will be explained later.

The way in which members of Trekaleyin articulate tourism with their “nature”, contrasts sharply, for instance, with the neat and decontextualised representation of Alto Bío-Bío found in the relatively new Alto Bío-Bío Museum. The museum is financed by Eliodoro Matte, a Chilean entrepreneur and member of one of the richest families in the country. He owns a estate close to Alto Bío-Bío and is involved, among other things, in one of the largest forestry companies in Latin America (CMPC) and in the electricity sector through Colbún S.A., a company that recently expressed interest in and began the legal process to build a hydroelectric dam in Pitril, the Queuco valley (Charpentier, 2011). This museum was opened in 2006 in Ralco’s main square, and is one of the few purposely built tourist attractions of Alto Bío-Bío. As is to be expected in a Pewenche museum, much emphasis is given to the Pewén tree and nuts, emphasising both the fact that they are “the people

from the Pewén tree”, and the tree’s spiritual and economic significance. There are pictures, objects and tales, that although one could argue reinforce Western and modern notions of “the exotic” and nature as “wilderness” (West and Carrier, 2004), do communicate to some extent the important meanings of the Pewén for community members (see Figures 32 and 33). However, what is not even remotely mentioned and indeed is clearly avoided and silenced in these exhibits are the struggles and threats the communities face with regards to these resources. For instance, overlooked in the exhibits is the fact that over time the gathering of the Pewén nuts has decreased, together with other reasons, due to the dispossession of Pewén tree forests, as well as the communities’ on-going struggles to regain their control and ownership.



Figure 32. Ralco Museum entrance, where the sign reads: “Pewenche Museum. Place of encounter of the Pewén”.

Source: Museo Pewenche (n. d.)

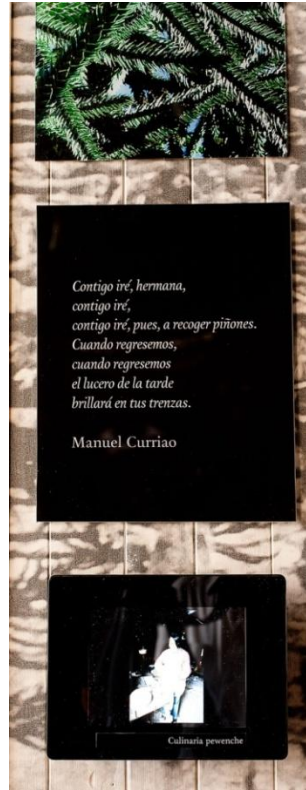


Figure 33. Exhibit of Ralco Museum, which along with an image of a Pewén tree and a Pewenche woman cooking labeled “Pewenche culinary”, includes a poem about gathering Pewén nuts.

Source: Museo Pewenche (n. d.)

This fixed and decontextualised representation of the communities and their links with their natural surroundings corresponds to what García Canclini (1999) has called the “residual”. For him “residual” approaches consider elements that, coming from the past, are still present today and deemed as “authentic”, without addressing the many possible experiences and understandings of that past and how they are embedded in their contemporary reproductions. Therefore, they result in static, apolitical and isolated representations that overlook conflicts and contestations. But, how are community members involved in Trekaleyin including these other elements, connections and contestations with their natural surroundings in their engagement with tourism? How are they dealing with the neoliberalisation of their “nature”? In order to explore these issues, I will turn to a branch of the literature on neoliberal nature that suggests that, in order to better understand and enlarge the range of possibilities, we have to expand our understandings of both neoliberalism and nature, posing a call to move “beyond neoliberalism” and “beyond nature” (Bakker, 2010).

Beyond neoliberalism and nature

The concept of neoliberalism has been questioned from many different stands that include but go beyond work on neoliberal nature. It has been argued that it is often “fetishised” and presented as a hegemonic, single, monolithic and even inescapable project (Castree, 2008a; Heynen and Robbins, 2005; Radcliffe, 2007), which has led to debates about the significance, scope and analytical value of the term (Bakker, 2010; Larner, 2003). Thomas Perreault and Patricia Martin (2005 p. 194) have acknowledged that neoliberalism is indeed varied, multiple and contradictory, and is therefore “best characterized not as a coherent end product, but rather as a complex and contested set of processes, comprised of diverse policies, practices, and discourses”. For instance, following Peck and Tickell’s (2002) notion of the move between state roll-back and state roll-out to argue the multiplicity of neoliberalism (also called reregulation by Bakker (2005)), they argue that in Latin America states have continually modified many of their roles and approaches within neoliberalism (Perreault and Martin, 2005), which has certainly been the case for Chile.

The acknowledgement of this multiplicity and variability of neoliberalism has led to the proliferation of case studies on the neoliberalisation of nature (Bakker, 2005; Laurie and Marvin, 1999; Mansfield, 2004; Perreault, 2005). These studies have explored the diverse ways in which neoliberalism is shaped in different places according to their particular contexts. But in her attempt to move “beyond neoliberalism”, Karen Bakker (2010) suggests that what is actually needed is also the expansion of our understandings of neoliberalism in order to be able to see it as both local and translocal, comprised of multiple dimensions including the political, economic and ecological, but also the cultural, psychological and libidinal. This entails, for instance, addressing how emotions play a role in decision making, management and relations with “natural” elements (Bakker, 2010; Nast, 2006; Wynne-Jones, 2010).

Bakker also advocates considering more carefully the notion of nature. She suggests that by enlarging the narrow definition of “nature as resource”, our accounts of neoliberalisation can be more comprehensive as we will be able to address the multiple dimensions of the relationships between humans and non-humans. In order to do that, she turns to what she loosely refers to as relational approaches (Bakker, 2010). Influenced by the seminal work of A. Irving Hallowell (1964) and others, these approaches comprise a broad body of literature that encompasses perspectives that include cultural studies of nature (Braun, 2002), actor-network theory (Latour, 1993; 2004), hybrid

geographies (Whatmore, 2002), non-representational theory (Thrift, 2008), dwelling (Ingold, 2000), and animal geographies (Philo and Wilbert, 2000). Despite their diversity and differences, these approaches share an interest in “denaturalising” nature and questioning the modern ontological distinction between humans and non-humans (Castree, 2011; Jones, 2009b). Instead, they propose relational ontologies that incorporate non-humans as co-constitutive elements of the world and social and economic life (Braun, 2002). This entails moving beyond anthropocentric politics and the acknowledgement of the agency and political status of non-humans, involving rights and entitlements (Castree, 2003; Escobar, 1998). Despite the tensions produced when trying to move beyond the nature-culture binary, efforts to do so have provided more sophisticated understandings of the “intersections that exist between the social and other dimensions of life” (Panelli, 2010 p. 84).

Indigenous perspectives and voices have contributed prominently to these debates. The work of Viveiros de Castro (2005), Cajete (1994), Little Bear (2000), Roberts and Wills (1998), Stewart-Harawira (2005), Descola (1997), Surrallés and García Hierro (2005), Poirier (2008) and many others have provided insights into different ontologies and ways of understanding the connections of the natural and the human. Moreover, Jay Johnson and Brian Murton (2007 p. 127) suggest that by including and recognising these ontologies “we have the opportunity to re/write the colonial/neocolonial displacement of the indigenous voice”, decolonising constructions of nature that determine and marginalise indigenous people, in a process that could benefit not only indigenous peoples but all of us who are constrained by this divide. Indeed, recognising and respecting this ontological pluralism in research as well as practices and policies, can provide an opportunity to search for non-universalist and more equitable and sustainable relations and forms of co-existence (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006), addressing the complex intersections of what is commonly seen as separated environmental, political, cultural and economic issues (Panelli, 2010)

In Latin America revaluing and acknowledging these ontologies made invisible by the imposition of modernity and coloniality has become a crucial issue. The adoption of neoliberalism in the region and the subsequent incursion of extractive projects in more “remote” areas, have increased resistance in new dimensions, opening an “ontological dispute”. As de la Cadena (2009) argues, indigenous relational ontologies are at the root of the emergent indigenous movements and resistances, articulating and “pulling out of the shadows” particular intertwined relations between humans and non-humans. According to her, conflicts such as the mining of the Apu Ausangate in the mountains of Cusco, Peru, are creating “out of the ordinary” and hybrid political conflicts, where unusual players are being brought to the centre of political attention. Furthermore, this process is

destabilising the “modern” consensus that excluded from politics indigenous practices and knowledges, relegating them to the religious, ritual or superstitious realms through the separation of nature (or science) from politics and culture. Thus, these indigenous struggles are expanding the possibilities to “pluralise” politics, not only enhancing indigenous sectors participation, but also because of the need to negotiate the role and rights of non-humans, as well as different ways of being (De la Cadena, 2009). Clear examples of this “hybridisation” of politics, have been the declaration of the rights of Nature in the new Constitution of Ecuador, understanding it as subject of rights (Gudynas, 2009a), as well as Bolivia’s call for the acknowledgement of the rights of Mother Nature in international climate change debates (Prada, 2010).

Mapuche relational ontologies and their political consequences have been explored by Ana Ramos (2009). She argues that they bring together people, ancestors, animals, objects, knowledges, mountains, rivers, stories, everyday practices, rituals, spirits and songs. Among these elements, dreams (*pewma*) are the main vehicle by which ancestors and other beings communicate with humans, carrying with them history, knowledges and strength to face the present. The relational co-constitution of this ontology in which the dead are still present, places maintain connections, rituals involve the dialogue of humans and non-humans, and dreams transport knowledge and strength, creates a framework that delineates the relations with multiple others, and is inextricably linked to politics. As she says, “politics cannot be understood outside Mapuche relationality and its links between humans, non-humans, past and present” (p. 72, my translation), which clearly challenge a modern understanding of the relations and limits between nature, and culture and politics.

This is evident in many ways in Alto Bío-Bío. For instance, in 2008 I witnessed in the last day of a *Nguillatún*, an important spiritual ceremony, when a letter from a Pewenche political prisoner was read in public and aiming to be heard by the gods, making claims to his freedom, communities’ rights to land and encouraging people to continue fighting. A more well-known case was in 1996, when in the midst of the demonstrations against the Ralco dam, a massive *Nguillatún* was celebrated to connect with god and other spiritual forces to stop the dam (McFall and Morales, 2000). It is also present in the following story Arnoldo, a *lonko*, told during a tourist trip, which speaks of a hard past where ancestors and present generations are intertwined, as well as of the agency of non-humans and of territorial connections:

La Piedra del Indio (*silencio*). En mediados de abril, en tiempo de los bisabuelos, cuando no había ese camino que hay hoy día, no había buses. Había solamente una huella, y de

acá tenían que ir buscar alimentos a Santa Bárbara de a caballo. Demoraban tres, cuatro días para ir a comprar medio quintal de harina y medio saco de trigo, y tres kilos de azúcar, medio kilo de hierba mate. Con esos sacrificios criaron los bisabuelos a nuestros padres. Incluso nuestro padre también hizo un pique para Santa Bárbara para criarnos a nosotros, hasta que captaron otra salida. De Trapa hasta Los Barros hasta Abanico, allá se trasladaban de a caballo. Estamos hablando de los bisabuelos, no de nuestro padre, no de nuestro abuelo, sino de los bisabuelos, antiguamente. Y todavía no estaba nombrada como Piedra del Indio esa piedra. Y un día en mediados de abril, los bisabuelos, me decía mi abuelo Julio, contaban que se vino un Pewenche desde Argentina. Quería conocer Chile porque tenía familia acá. Y así que vino de a pie, en mediados de abril, y le tocó mal tiempo. Como aquí es celoso todo esto, todo esto tienen *newén*, tiene una fuerza, cuando el *lonko* empieza a decir que llueve, llueve no más, ellos le dan la fuerza a él. Y así el *peñi* (hermano), venía de a pie desde Argentina y acá le tocó mal tiempo y nevó, hacía frío. No tenía adónde refugiarse, así que quedó ahí en esa piedra, sentado, y más encima, según decían, era de noche. Y dijo “aquí me voy a poseer y aquí me voy alojar”, pero como la nieve no aguantó, el *peñi* murió sentado en ese lugar. Y después los trapinos (gente de Trapa Trapa) vinieron de a caballo y encontraron un *peñi* muerto, identificaron que era un *peñi* Pewenche que estaba muerto. Por eso le pusieron la Piedra del Indio. Y ahí nuestros abuelos fueron allá, el *lonko*, y dijeron “este es nuestro territorio, como Trapa Trapa, hasta aquí llega nuestro territorio”. Así que como Pewenche este es nuestro territorio y corresponde. Trapa Trapa. Esa es la historia de la piedra santa a la que hoy día tenemos que dar tres vueltas. Si usted no le da tres vueltas fracasa. De un de repente puede enfermarse, puede fracturarse, no sé, puede caerse del caballo, o la camioneta puede volcarse, puede quedar estancado ahí no más.

The Indian Stone (*silence*). In mid-April, in the times of the great-grandparents, when there was no that road there is today, there were no buses. There was only a track, and from here they had to go to look for food to Santa Barbara on horseback. They took three, four days to go and buy 50lb of flour and half a sack of wheat, and three kilos of sugar, half a kilo of “yerba” (mate). With these sacrifices our parents grew up, raised by the great-grandparents. Even our father made a trip to Santa Barbara to raise us, until they figured out another route. From Trapa to Los Barros to Abanico they went on horseback. We are talking about great-grandparents, not our father, not our

grandfather, but the great-grandparents, old days. And this stone was not yet named the Indian Stone. And one day in mid-April, the grandparents, my grandfather Julio told me, they said that a Pewenche came from Argentina. He wanted to know Chile because he had family here. And so he came on foot, on mid-April he came on foot, and he had bad weather. As all of this is jealous, all of this has *newén*, has power, when the *lonko* asks for rain it just rains, they give him the strength. And so the *peñi* (brother), was on foot coming from Argentina and he had bad weather and it snowed, it was cold. He had nowhere to shelter so he stayed there on that rock, sitting down, and on top of things, they say, it was night. And he said “here I’m going to reside and here I will stay”, but as the snow did not wait, the *peñi* died sitting there. And then the Trapinos (people from Trapa Trapa) came by horse and found a dead *peñi*, they identified it was a Pewenche *peñi* who was dead. That’s why they called it Indian Stone. And then our grandparents went there, the *lonko*, and said “this is our territory, as Trapa Trapa, until here extends our territory”. So as Pewenche this is our territory and it corresponds. Trapa Trapa. So that’s the story of the holy stone that today we have to turn around three times. If you do not give three turns you fail. Suddenly you can get sick, can break a bone, I don’t know, you can fall from the horse or the truck can tip over, or just get stuck there.

(28 November 2008)



Figure 34. People going around the Indian Stone
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

In Arnoldo's account, the presence and connections of Pewenche people beyond the imposed limits of the nation-states are addressed. Together with the fact that the *peñi* was travelling on foot from Argentina in the middle of April, a time known for its sudden changes in weather and risky conditions for travelling high in the mountains, suggests he might be referring to a time when Pewenche people were being harassed on both sides of the Andes. A time and a need, until today, to claiming territorial limits and ownership, what "corresponds". The "fore" or *newén* of "natural" elements is acknowledged in mentioning ways of being and appropriate conduct. The fact that the mountains are "jealous" and you have to show respect to avoid dangers, that the *lonko* can ask for rain, and that because of the significance of a rock we must turn around it three times to the right, all talk about the agency of more-than-human elements, which together with the historical accounts and memories, signify a connection, a right, a way of knowing and being on these territories that is re-enacted, made visible, valued and communicated through tourism.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Mapuche-Pewenche ontologies include notions of wellbeing that involve humans, non-humans and cosmic forces (*küme felen*), that dictate rules applicable to particular territories (*Az Mapu*), and promote solidarity and the search of good life (*(küme mongen)* (COTAM, 2003a; Marileo, 2002). However, it is the concept of *ixofil mongen*, translated as harmony and respect with nature, biodiversity or balance, that is the most relevant in regards to the connection with nature and place. It involves the ways of respecting, using and relating to the "environment", as well as the cyclical celebration of rituals (Tricot, 2009). *Ixofil monguen* also appears prominently in Mapuche demands and political debates (Organizaciones Territoriales Mapuche, 2006; Rupailaf Maichin, 2006), and Mapuche land claims that are entangled with ancestors, rituals, divinities and duties of stewardship (Foerster, 1995).

Together with volcanoes, mountains and rivers, one of the most prominent and characteristic elements of Pewenche ontologies and *ixofil monguen* in Alto Bío-Bío are the Pewén trees (see Figure 35) (Morales Urra, 1998). These trees have lineages and families and marry each other either through their roots or with the intervention of birds. As with other elements, they have a *ngen* or owner and there are rules and appropriate ways to interact with them that also regulate the gathering of the Pewén nuts (González and Valenzuela, 1979; Herrmann, 2005). However, as was previously mentioned, the fact that the communities are struggling to regain control of half of these forests has reduced the possibilities for Pewén gathering, bringing consequences that extend beyond the economic as Alberto, an elderly community member, comments:

La recolección del piñón se ha perdido pues, tanto es así que yo creo que *Chau Dios* igual nos está exigiendo un poco. Acá, donde vivimos nosotros, los pinos²² ya no dan todos los años, cada dos años, sino que año por medio. ¿Pero porqué? Porque antes nosotros íbamos a recoger piñones, era un alimento importante que se nos daba, pero ahora ya no, y eso afecta, afecta todo, el *Chau Dios* también sabe.

The collection of pewén nuts is being lost then, so much so that I believe *Chau Dios* (god) is demanding us a little. Here, where we live, the pines (see footnote 22) are no longer giving every year, but every other year. But why? Because before we used to go to gather the pewén nuts, it was an important food they gave us, but not now, and that affects, affects everything, the *Chau Dios* also knows.

(6 January 2009)



Figure 35. Community members in a Pewén tree forest
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

²² Community members also call the Pewén trees “pinos” (pines).

The connections, knowledges and ways of relating to the forests and territories, that Alberto suggests, involve the entanglement of land claims, livelihoods and access to an important source of food, as well as “Chau dios” and her/his expectations. This constitute what Escobar (1999) calls “hybrid natures”, in which “unusual actors” are brought together, blurring the distinctions between the political/cultural and the “natural”. Broadening and complicating our understandings of neoliberalism and the acknowledgement of these “hybrid natures” that involve “unusual actors”, enlarges the possibilities to explore their interaction in more nuanced ways. As Bakker (2010 p. 717) puts it, it allows us to “engage more comprehensively with the multiple entanglements between socio-natures and capital under neoliberal modes of governance, while accounting more fully for the co-presence of the non-human – both animate ‘nature’ and inanimate ‘things’ – within conventional human worlds”. Even more, together with broadening and deepening our accounts, it enables us to attend more carefully their co-constitution and to identify viable alternatives. As Bakker (2010 p. 728-29) writes: “A focus on struggles over the co-constitution of resources and social relations enables the identification of counter hegemonic forms of (re)production allied with alternative concepts of nature-society relations”. This is particularly important to understand resistance as a “creative engagement with processes of neoliberalization in which socio-natures reshape and reframe – in positive as well as negative ways – the conditions of their own reproduction” (p. 729). It is precisely that kind involvement with neoliberalism and Pewenche ontologies that I believe is being developed through Trekaleyin, and which I will explore in the next section.

Hybridisation as a way of resistance

Their involvement in tourism has allowed members of Trekaleyin to resist and transform the neoliberalisation of their “nature” in Certeaudian terms (De Certeau, 1984). They are developing a “creative engagement” with neoliberalism (Bakker, 2010) in which Pewenche relational ontologies have become key. This, in turn, shapes the ways they use tourism to enact their resistance and construction of place and territory, encompassing multiple elements. Among them, is the reassertion of their connections and ancestral occupation of their territories, in particular of the “veranadas” and Pewén tree forests in the mountains, where the horseback riding trips take place. See for instance what Trekaleyin declares in the Pewenche Eco-cultural Guide they produced with the support of staff from close institutions, where they state that:

[This guide] aims to meet the need of the Network of Pewenche Ecotouristic Tracks Trekaleyin to generate a space for the exchange of knowledge and learning, reflected in a single document that can be used to teach both future generations and visitors, the important relationship and dependency that the Pewenche people has with nature.

The knowledge and respect for natural cycles, the biodiversity that characterizes Alto Bío-Bío, the worldview and traditional uses of nature for centuries, without causing its deterioration, are elements presented in this guide (p. 2).

... The Network is an autonomous organisation, comprised of providers of tourist services in the communities Queuco valley, Alto Bío-Bío, [whose] goals seek to revalue the practices of activities of “veranadas” and Pewén gathering, traditional to the Pewenche people, through a new practice in the area: ecotourism, to encourage with it local economic development, environmental conservation and promotion of cultural exchange (Trekaleyin, 2009a p. 11, my translation).

Thus tourism becomes the continuation of their struggles over land and ontological difference, similar to what Sara Wright et al. (2009) identified in Bawaka Cultural Experiences (BCE) on northern Australia. By explicitly including their particular ontologies, Trekaleyin is enabling the inclusion of Pewenche knowledges and ways of relating to place and other beings in spheres beyond “the cultural” (Blaser and De la Cadena, 2009), such as the economy (Coraggio, 2009), environmental management (O'Malley, 1996), the defence of the common and communities (Chatterton, 2010), political demands for autonomy (Ramos, 2009), and relations with “outsiders” such as tourists, institutions and funding agencies. Thus, using García Canclini's (1999) words, in contrast with a “residual” and fixed representation of their relations with “nature”, they are addressing it in “emergent” terms. For García Canclini (1999), emergent approaches acknowledge new values, practices and relations, influenced by the ways of understanding, inhabiting and constructing a better life by certain groups. More than “display”, emergent approaches take into account current meanings, uses and conflicts. In the case of Trekaleyin, this involves openly including the changing, contested and multidimensional connections they have with their surroundings, which involve multiple actors, emotions, stories and values. This inclusion is being done in several ways. For instance, with regards to the tales and ways of interacting with tourists and visitors, before each trip Trekaleyin guides brief them about the existence of forces and *ngens* in the mountains and forests, and tell them the appropriate ways to behave in order to acknowledge them. Also a “rogativa” (rogation) is conducted right before departing, as is normally done among

community members when going to the mountains, which also emphasises the importance of respect for more-than-humans (see Figure 36) .



Figure 36. Members of Trekaleyin talking with tourists
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

Issues of emotions and feelings, as well as dispossession, colonisation, history and struggles over lands and resources are also included in conversations with visitors. For instance, during a trip that brought together a diverse group of tourists, authorities and staff members of different organisations, many of these issues were often openly addressed by the guides, as Arnoldo illustrates:

Hoy es importante en el fondo no mirarnos por la raza sino que somos seres humanos, somos personas y eso es bueno reconocerlo. Todos somos y vivimos en las áreas como el *Ngenechen* (dios) nos ha dejado. El *Pewén* es el árbol que nosotros tenemos alrededor de la cordillera, que nos rodea, y el *che* somos nosotros. *Pewenche*, somos gente del piñón. Así que hoy día yo quiero contarles sobre la veranada acá. Ustedes ven una casita por ahí que está solita, que no hay gente, que no hay ni animales, pero dentro de este mes va a haber familia. Van a traer los animales los *peñis* de Trapa, van a traer el vacuno, los caballos, las

chivas, las ovejas ¡hasta las gallina van a traer! y su familia. Van a traer todo lo que tienen en la casa para venir a acampar, para venir a poseer, para venir a cuidar su ganado y recoger el piñón. Porque nosotros como Pewenche, no tenemos más otra alternativa que cuidar nuestro ganado, que alimentar nuestra familia. Todo eso es el sistema que nosotros hemos mantenido. Me ha mantenido a mí, a mi padre, y yo estoy manteniendo a mi familia, mi esposa, mi hijo. No hay otro recurso, así que estamos obligados nosotros. Por eso nosotros damos gracias a CONADI, nuestra autoridad de acá²³. Me siento tan orgulloso, me siento tan feliz de que lo tengo acá, porque esta veranada nuestro *peñi* nos ayudó a entregarla a las manos de los Pewenche. A través de CONADI este sitio es nuestro ahora, que tanto nos costó, porque había personas acá que se estaban adueñando de nuestro territorio. Esto no era de nosotros, este árbol no era de nosotros. Así que hoy día la veranada tiene mucho significado para nosotros. Esta casita está solita pero dentro de cuatro o cinco semanas va a haber familia y van a haber animales. Son tres meses que nosotros tenemos que venir acá a veranear, pero nosotros venimos a veranear²⁴ (*risas*), no venimos a turistar ni a descansar, sino que todos los días tenemos que rodear, ir a buscar allá en la cima de la cordillera nuestras chivas para traerlas al corral, todos los días, y es un sacrificio grande. Y a veces la señora nos dice “vaya a encerrarme el ternero porque quiero leche” y nosotros como hombres tenemos que ir a buscar el ternero para que al otro día tengan un quesito, todo eso. Y nosotros trabajamos ¡no venimos a turistar! (*risas*). Pero nosotros nos sentimos tan orgullosos, tan contentos porque nos sentimos tan libres hoy día. Esto es libre, esto es común, esto no está parcelado ¿qué significa parcelado? que cada uno tiene su veranada y esto me pertenece. No. Son familias que nosotros tenemos acá, aquí andan los animales libremente, y eso es lo más bonito que nosotros tenemos, que unidamente cuidamos los animales.

Today it's important not to look at each other in terms of our race but rather that we're human beings, we're people and it's good to acknowledge that. We all exist and live in the areas as the *Ngenechen* (god) left us. The Pewén is the tree that we have around in the

²³ The then regional director of CONADI was present.

²⁴ Play of words as in Spanish “veranear” is commonly used for going on holidays during summer, but the Pewenche use “veranear” to refer to the season they spend in the “veranadas”.

mountains, that surround us, and *che* are us, the people. Pewenche, we're the people of the piñón (Pewén nut). So today I want to tell you about the "veranada" here. You see a little house there that is alone, no people there, not even animals, but during this month there will be family, they will bring the animals. The *peñis* from Trapa will bring the cows, the horses, the goats, the sheep... even the hens they will bring! and their family. They will bring all they have at home to camp here, to come to possess, to come to take care of their cattle. Because us, as Pewenche, we don't have another alternative than to take care of our cattle to feed our family. All of this is the system we have maintained. It sustained me, my father, and I am sustaining my family, my wife, my son, through cattle. There is no other resource here, so we are bound. That's why we thank CONADI, our authority here (see footnote 23). I feel so proud, I feel so happy that I have him here, because this "veranada", our *peñi* helped us to give it to the hands of the Pewenche. Through CONADI this place is ours now, that cost us too much, as there were people here, people who were taking over our territory. This was not ours, this tree was not ours. So today the "veranada" has a lot of meaning for us. This house is lonely, but in four or five weeks there will be family and there will be animals. It is three months that we have to come here to "veranear", but we don't come on holidays (see footnote 24) (*laughs*), we don't come for tourism or to have a rest, on the contrary, every day we have to go to look for the cattle, go there to the top of the mountain to get our goats to bring them to the corral, every day, and that is a big sacrifice. And sometimes the wife says "go and get the calf because I want milk", and we as men have to go and get the calf so next day they have a little cheese, all that. And we work, we don't come for tourism, ey! (*laughs*). But we feel so proud, so happy that we feel free today. This is free, this is common, this is not plotted. What does plotted means? That each one has their own "veranada" and "this is what I own". No. There are families here, here the animals can go around freely, and that is the most beautiful thing we have, that united we take care for the animals.

(28 November 2008)

Although this is just a part of a long speech, it is interesting to note the language Arnoldo uses. Among the many elements he addresses, he refers to equal inter-ethnic relationships and to god and his/her influence in our "place" in the world. He also talks about dispossession, their long struggles for land and all the suffering and efforts that have "cost" them, making reference to a recent

past in which the land where tourists are physically located in that moment were occupied and community members could not access it, as well as to the many land conflicts that remain unsolved. By noting the presence of the regional director of CONADI, under whose mandate they were “given back” their land, Arnoldo makes a political point and then goes on to suggest that this land is not “empty”, although visitors cannot see people or animals around. With this fact, he is emphasising the ancestral occupation of their lands, and also, their particular way of relating and using them. The way in which he explains what Pewenche means and the significance of these territories, mountains and forests in their identity as people, reinforces the imbricated entanglements of humans and non-humans that conform and frame their existence. In his discourse, he relates to the responsibilities to look after and possess the territories and resources, which is emphasised when he suggests that raising cattle and gathering the nuts are the only “resources” there, which in a territory where water, underground minerals, forests and geothermic assets are disputed and owned by outsiders, is a major and contentious statement. He also refers to many emotions and feelings, such as being grateful, happy and proud to have their land back, and to be able to share them with the visitors and in particular the “authority” who was instrumental in that process, to show how they are using them to “veranear” and to work on tourism. He also talks about the importance and beauty of common property, of solidarity and unity. By explaining what “plotted” land means, when it is a simple term that probably everybody understood, he is emphasising how inappropriate and unacceptable the “enclosure” of these “commons” is, and how it is related to freedom. He also plays with words and then more seriously explains how hard their life is in the mountains, making the contrast with what going as tourists entails. With this he is not just talking about the difficulties and characteristics of their life in their territories, but also shattering the image that tourists can create around Pewenche people as permanently happy and “in harmony” with an always benign nature, and acknowledges the fact that it involves sacrifices, difficulties, suffering, and dangers. He talks about the importance of family, and also, of their relations with animals. Overall, we could say he is talking about culture and history. But if we look a bit deeper, we can see he is actually telling of entanglements of knowledges, histories, beings, memories and relations that together shape Pewenche existence and their connections and constructions of place, and the politics of the way they engage with them and tourism.

Pewenche ontology is also present in the ways in which things are done and decided in Trekaleyin. As on the occasion when José Carlos, a guide decided to leave earlier than planned to a “veranada” because he was told to do so in a dream, diverse and intertwined elements influence the everyday, as well as long term choices and activities. Among these more “long term” decisions are

efforts to create planning and zoning tools. Trekaleyin, for instance, commissioned a then biology student to conduct a study on tourism carrying capacity and “cultural-natural” zoning of a path in Cauñicú, which she did as part of her internship (Ramírez, 2008). Although it has no legal recognition, the development of this study is motivated by the intention to demonstrate, through the use of technical (neoliberal) tools and terms, the existence and validity of the communities’ “cultural-natural” knowledge, and to make it visible as a crucial element in tourism development and territorial “management”. Efforts of Trekaleyin members to recover, highlight and include elements of Pewenche ontology have also been included in the publication of the Pewenche eco-cultural guide (Trekaleyin, 2009a) and a collection of Pewenche stories (see Figures 37 to 39) (Vita Vita and Queupil Almendra, 2007). These two works, together with being distributed among communities and schools, are also incorporated in the visits from tourists and negotiations with institutions and funding agencies. Finally, there has been also a determination to revitalise and involve key elements, such as the Pewén nuts and forests, in tourism practices as a symbols of their identity and on-going struggles for lands.

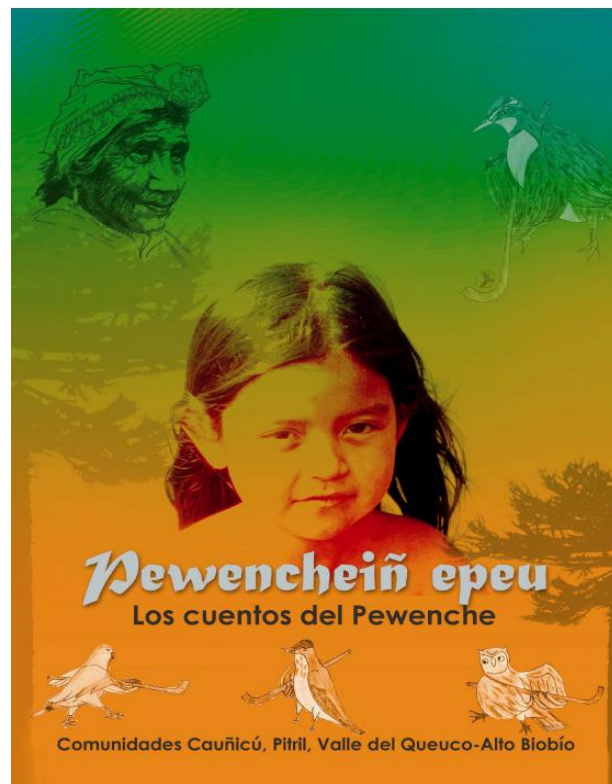
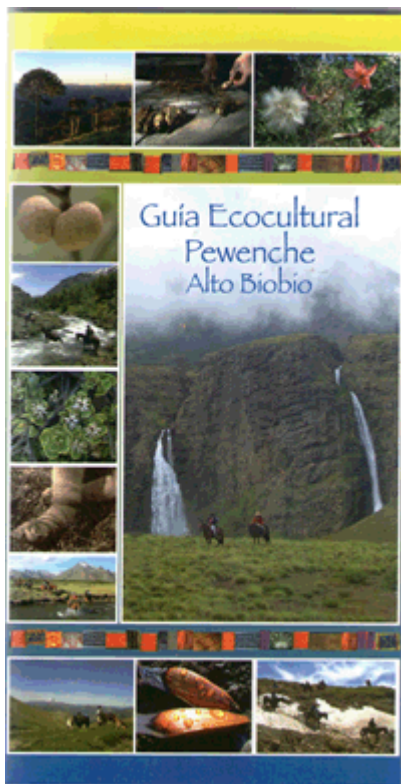


Figure 37 and 38. Pewenche eco-cultural guide and collection of stories
Source: Trekaleyin (2009a) and Vita Vita and Queupil Almendra (2007)



Figure 39. Member of Trekaleyin explains the qualities of a plant
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

Conclusion

By intertwining their activities and relations to place and territory with Pewenche ontologies through tourism, members of Trekaleyin are hybridising nature, culture and politics, and expanding the voices, agency and possibilities of multiple beings and elements (De la Cadena, 2009, Escobar, 1999). In contrast with the decontextualised, fixed, apolitical and, using García Canclini (1999) words, “residual” representation of the links of Pewenche people with their territory presented at Ralco Museum, Trekaleyin is articulating them as “emergent”, contested and evolving. From this perspective, tourism for Trekaleyin has become an “entry point” to relate to political and territorial resistance as well as to Pewenche relational ontologies.

As Wright et al. (2009), Bunten (2010) and Spiller (2010) and others have acknowledged, indigenous involvement in tourism, when owned by indigenous peoples and developed in their

terms, tends to be multidimensional, where the economic is only one aspect. By broadening our understandings of neoliberalism and nature, it has become possible to acknowledge how with Trekaleyin the communities are developing a counterhegemonic and hybrid form of the neoliberalisation of nature (Bakker, 2010). Here, the “creative engagement” with neoliberalism suggested by Bakker (2010), is articulated by a resistance that, more than rejection, entails the transformation and appropriation (De Certeau, 1984) of neoliberalism. Thus, Trekaleyin is decentring and subverting it, while decolonising modern divisions of humans and non-humans. As Pat O’Malley (1996 p. 323) has shown in her engagement with aboriginal peoples in Australia, these processes are crucial because “the existence of indigenous forms within the subjugating regime provides sites within rule for the operation of counterdiscourses and subordinated knowledges”. Through their involvement in tourism, community members have increased their abilities to include, make visible and actualise their relational ontology, thus, as de la Cadena (2009) says, changing the terms in which dialogues can take place and alternatives can be imagined. Of course this is not unproblematic and involves many difficulties and contradictions. But understanding that autonomy is a form of interstitial politics always under construction (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006), their work represents a remarkable step.

According to the image of travelling along the tracks presented by Millahueique in the introduction of this chapter, Trekaleyin’s use of the old paths creates the possibility to travel and get in contact with different temporalities, discourses, meanings and uses. He suggests that at an experiential level that is at the same time physical, affective, political, economic and magical, it allows the interweaving of the connections of ancestors, memories, tourists, land rights, spiritual forces and struggles by different actors that cohabit. Tourism, then, has become one of the main processes through which community members are re-working and re-presenting connections and rights, creating and making use of conditions that make possible taking into account hybrid elements. Thus, they are demanding and enacting the expansion of politics and “nature” (De la Cadena, 2009; Ramos, 2009), as well as the possibilities for plurality and co-existence among peoples and more-than-human beings (Howitt, 2001; Howitt and Suchet-Pearson, 2006), thus grasping the “unthinkable” (Blaser and De la Cadena, 2009). Although this chapter is one among other possible interpretations, understanding the work of Trekaleyin in this way has involved the inspection of the ways in which we understand neoliberalism and nature. Unlike those who overlook the challenges and significance of the propositions for hybridisation that are posing experiences such as the recent constitutional and policy revolutions in Ecuador and Bolivia, debates on post- extractivist alternatives such as the case of ITT-Yasuní (Acosta et al., 2009), the declaration of the rights of

Nature (Gudynas, 2009a), or the calls made by the Bolivian government to account for the rights of Pachamama (Mother Earth) in international debates of climate change (Morales, 2009), or that remain confined to only evaluate them according to their level of “success” (in a narrowly defined sense) (Kennemore and Weeks, 2011), I believe that engaging with them more openly and deeply, can bring important theoretical and practical insights.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUDING REMARKS



Araucaria forest at dusk
Source: Marcela Palomino-Schalscha

Reasons to remain engaged and hopeful

As I write these words student movements are bringing hope and much needed discussion to the forefront in Chile. They are not only putting forward the right for free and good education, but questioning an unfair and increasingly delegitimized political system, where public support for both the current government and the opposition is below 30% (the lowest in 21 years) (Centro de Estudios Públicos, 2011). The president of CONFECH, the Confederation of Students from Chile that

brings together student leaders from all the universities, is Camila Vallejos, a Geography student and the second female FECH (Student Federation of the Universidad de Chile) president in its 105 years. She is a remarkable leader who has played a key role in the current student movement, and has even been internationally compared with Zapatistas's Subcomandante Marcos (Franklin, 2011). However she, along with other students, rejected in June this year a petition of the Federation of Mapuche Students to join CONFECH. They said the Mapuche Federation did not meet the standards and regulations to be accepted because they did not represent any university in particular, thus resorting to discourses that deny and silence indigenous difference, confining them to "fit" into other categories. Nevertheless, a majority of CONFECH representatives voted in favour and the Mapuche Federation was finally included. Three months later for the first time in history CONFECH conducted an assembly outside universities, meeting at an autonomous Mapuche Student Residence in Temuco. There Camila publicly admitted she had committed a mistake, and recognised her ignorance about the Mapuche. She acknowledged that thanks to the participation of Mapuche students, she and the whole CONFECH have learnt a great deal, and are now committed to better cross-cultural relations in the country. This is what she said in an interview:

[Mapuche representatives] have nurtured incredibly the internal debates in the CONFECH ... One tends to forget in this discussion of free and quality education the issue of content. We forget how interculturalism should also be reflected in this paradigm shift we seek ... When we talk of democratising education we also must speak of democratising knowledge. If we can succeed in including the Mapuche worldview, history, values and principles in Chilean education, I think we will create a new kind of society, more just and democratic. It is part of what we all have learned from their participation in the CONFECH (Cayunqueo, 2011, my translation).

Camila, and the whole CONFECH, are facing some of the main issues this thesis has aimed to reflect on. They refer to the ways in which we build cross-cultural relations, the urgency to question the "categories" we use, and the acknowledgement of our own ignorance and (even if surrounded by good intentions) ethnocentrism. In this thesis, grounded in the experience of Trekaleyn and from a poststructural and decolonising perspective, I have explored how the communities' involvement in tourism is embedded in an on-going struggle for autonomy, territory and development, where their agency, diversity, identities, resistance, hybridity and relations with other beings are negotiated and re-produced. I have explored issues of politics and autonomy in the context of (neoliberal) multiculturalism, the re-configuration of their diverse and solidarity economies and links with the

market, their construction of place and engagements with the global, and relations to territory and nature in a neoliberal framework. Bringing together different bodies of literature, perspectives and voices that range from Anglo academic literature to indigenous movements and Latin American intellectuals, and of course involving community members, this thesis has brought into conversation knowledges and discussions not often applied to (indigenous) tourism studies. This “combination” has also provided interesting insights into the fields of development, and indigenous geographies in particular.

The experience of Trekaleyin, and most of the chapters of this thesis, is crossed by the tensions and contradictions between assimilation and self-determination that its members, as also most indigenous peoples do, constantly face when trying to build autonomous spaces. These complexities, which resonate with Castillo’s (2006) notion of the “impossible Indian”, have played out throughout this thesis in negotiations that involve local and more-than-local actors and knowledges. To address them I resorted to de Certeau’s (1984) non-dualistic understandings of power, resistance and complicity, which encouraged an understanding of self-determination as something always relational, contextual and interstitial (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006), as well as of indigeneity as an “ongoing, nonteleological process of becoming, self-creation and self-determination” (Pratt, 2007 p. 399). Doing so had important consequences in promoting the valuing of community members’ agency and expanding the possibilities for positive transformations. Therefore, although aware of the dire consequences that colonialism, neoliberalism, (global) capitalism and development have had for indigenous peoples around the world, and in particular for the Mapuche, in this thesis it has been emphasised that, more than fixed, monolithic and all-encompassing entities or forces, these processes are subject to be negotiated, re-worked and subverted in important ways.

Main achievements and contributions of this thesis

Throughout this thesis I have explored the implications of Trekaleyin from a variety of angles. These different lines of discussion have highlighted the relevance and potential of non-conventional political spaces such as tourism as valid sites for action, resistance and contestation of discourses, practices and power relations. This thesis has reinforced the need to acknowledge and take into account the contribution of indigenous peoples in development paradigms in multilocal ways (Andolina et al., 2009), as well as of the value and urgency of making visible often subordinated

(and “wasted”) indigenous knowledges and ways of being (Santos, 2003; Walsh, 2005). To do so is particularly important in Chile where, as Víctor Caniullán (2003) suggests, the wealth of knowledges (*kimün*) and experiences that the Mapuche are currently contributing to ideas and practices around development are often overlooked, and the Mapuche are represented either as always in confrontation with or isolated from the rest of the society. It has enabled an understanding of Alto Bío-Bío, often defined in terms of lacking and need, as a site where innovative and more appropriate alternatives to shape the economy, development and relations with non-humans are being crafted (Gibson-Graham and Roelvink, 2009). But as Marie Louise Pratt (2007 p. 400) has acknowledged, merely acknowledging difference and complexity “does not require or demand new ways of thinking”. So for her, what is key is to think about the indigenous as an articulation of shifting and unpredictable “generative possibilities” that more than a “state” or condition, is a force that enables, that makes things happen and suggests new ways of thinking, which has been emphasised with Trekaleyin involvement in tourism. Therefore, interweaving the different issues addressed in it, the main achievements of this thesis can be summarised in the following four points:

- **It challenges the invisibility of (indigenous and) Mapuche contributions to (universalistic and simplistic) development, economic and environmental discourses and practices.**

This thesis demonstrates the current contributions and enormous potential of Mapuche *kimün* (wisdom), as well as the postulates and experiences of Mapuche organisations, activists and scholars, along with other indigenous and decolonial perspectives, to understandings of wellbeing, Buen Vivir or good life, and more respectful, balanced and just relations between humans and other beings. This not only aims to point to the importance of acknowledging practices, knowledges and actors usually made invisible, but also seeks to challenge universal and simplistic versions of the economic and development such as embedded in approaches such as neoliberalism and multiculturalism, nuancing and complicating them by looking at how they are re-worked, subverted and destabilised by them. Thus, this is not just a call for a mere search for another type of alternative development. Rather it questions modernity and the conceptual bases for Western ideas about development and the economy, and critiques Eurocentrism and the need to overcome colonial mentalities and the “waste” of a wealth of knowledges, values and practices.

- **It questions and destabilises notions of the indigenous as remote, separated, marginalised and, particularly in Chile, irrelevant.**

Recognising the contribution of Trekaleyin to the shaping of development paradigms also points to its multiscalar connections. Looking at issues of place and scale, and the relations and diverse networks in which Trekaleyin and Alto Bío-Bío are enrolled, this thesis demonstrates the

relational constitution of Alto Bío-Bío, the political and contested nature of scales, and the extroverted “global sense of the local” community members are constructing. These facts challenge the common conception of Alto Bío-Bío as a site of lacking and need that is passively “penetrated” by global forces and processes, and demonstrates the ways in which its community members are actively engaged in its co-construction while also extending their influence beyond what is usually understood as the “local”.

- **It highlights negotiation and hybridity as modes of existence and decolonisation, and the ways in which the reformulation of subjectivities can strengthen citizenship and participation in society**

Acknowledging their participation in cross-scale networks and processes, and understanding negotiation and hybridity as key for decolonisation processes, this thesis complicates notions of the indigenous and authenticity. Examining the processes of commodification, re-appropriation and resubjection, I explore resistance as transformative practices and how the reformulation of subjectivities can support the expansion and reworking of the ways to participate in society and practice citizenship. I suggest that by becoming “Mapuche tourism entrepreneurs”, community members are legitimizing and expanding their possibilities as political actors, validating difference, strengthening autonomy by re-working power relations beyond conventional political spaces, and influencing the creation of a more diverse, inclusive and plural society.

- **It advances the decolonisation of research in conceptual and methodological terms**

Organised in a non-conventional structure and engaging with a range of debates of diverse origins and trajectories, this thesis questions the compartmentalization of modernist research and points to the complex intersections between allegedly separate environmental, social, economic, political, and cultural issues. Through a participatory, ethnographic and decolonising methodological approach, and privileging the contributions of Latin American and Indigenous authors, my thesis adds to the search for appropriate, ethical and committed research. It highlights the situated and political nature of knowledge production, while recognising that ethics and decolonisation are performed, contextual and contested processes. Thus, it emphasises the need of on-going reflexivity at all stages of the research, as well as the responsibilities of non-Indigenous people in crafting enhanced spaces of pluralist co-existence.

So, engaging with a range of relevant literature and discussions that include (neoliberal) multiculturalism, diverse and solidarity economies, resistance, scale, neoliberal natures and relational ontologies, my thesis has aimed to contribute to the initiatives and concerns of the community

members of Alto Bío-Bío, in particular those involved in Trekaleyn. It has aimed to support reflection in order to improve their tourism business and the ways in which they can become more assertive in advancing their rights and demands, which can be significant for other initiatives in other places. Also, due to its original approach and the combination of cutting-edge conceptual developments with high quality empirical data, this thesis contributes to a range of bodies of literature within human geography, such as development geographies, indigenous geographies and Latin American geographies. It does so by focusing on issues of modernity/decoloniality that integrate (Anglo) human geography and development, and indigenous and Latin American perspectives. It also contributes to the growing body of scholarship on neoliberalism and multiculturalism in Latin America and beyond, as well as to current concerns with issues of indigeneity, autonomy and postcolonialism. Grounded in and putting forward a nuanced analysis of the Chilean political, cultural and economic context, this thesis is a contribution to the largely overlooked indigenous geographies of that country. This thesis also adds to the study of tourism, in particular within indigenous peoples, and its implications for development, the creation and expansion of cross-cultural spaces and autonomy, and the defence of ontological pluralism. Finally, this thesis makes an important contribution to the search of embedded and decolonising scholarship from ethnographic perspectives and methodologies.

This thesis contributes to fields of indigenous geographies, development and environmental studies bringing together and addressing the interconnections of issues usually considered in isolation. It has pushed forward the recognition and valuing of indigenous presence, rights and knowledges, and the consideration of the conceptual and practical consequences for issues that range from policy making to cross-cultural relations. Therefore, this thesis emphasises the urgency of engaging with the “ontological pluralism” that already influences relations, development and environmental issues, and the key role that geography can play in the articulation of a “pluriversal” instead of a “universal” world (see Grosfoguel, 2007).

Limitations and areas for future research

Despite its achievements, the production of this thesis also involved varied difficulties and limitations. Its non-conventional structure allowed me to address complex and intertwined issues while highlighting the concerns and priorities of community members. However, it also posed a challenge to weave all these different threads of thought into an encompassing argument. Also,

despite my intentions and the advantages of decolonising and participatory approaches, my experience conducting this research demonstrated that engaging in this kind of research entails many intricacies and dilemmas.

Although it provided thought-provoking insights that would have been difficult to reach otherwise, and was a rewarding experience definitively worth the effort, I remain ambivalent about the results and processes of this work with regards to its real achievements in terms of participation. Issues of representation, writing from afar, and uneven power relations between researcher and participants, as well as within the communities and institutions, made clear that participatory approaches do not get around ethical dilemmas or erase issues of power. Moreover, I also realised that modifying individual practices is not enough, and transformations are also needed at the institutional level. Despite the fact that the academic environment was crucial for the better understanding of the issues I engaged with throughout my research, it also presented several limitations. The kind of language and style it requires forced me to “translate” experiences and insights gained in the field, a process not free of contradictions. By only acknowledging and valuing outputs such as the production of this thesis, publications in academic spaces, and presentations at conferences, many other important things, reports and activities I did with the participants (and of probably more value to them) were overlooked, forcing me to make a “double effort”, take longer than expected, and having to balance my own career advancement with issues of reciprocity, respect and solidarity with the participants. And last but not least, it made me face the paradoxical restrictions and contradictions that Ethics Committees pose for the development of deeper ethical processes that acknowledge and embrace the agency and interests of research participants, aim to make changes and positive transformations, and engage with an ethics of care and hope, as well as with collective (instead of only individual) rights, concerns and culturally appropriate protocols. These institutional procedures do not deal with ethical issues beyond the formalities they involve, which increased the tensions I faced when having to make decisions considering ethical issues as on-going negotiations happening in “grey areas of betweenness”. Overall, the experiences and strategies we (the participants and I) deployed, the auto-critical account I have included, and the reflections and results of this thesis, aim to make a contribution towards addressing practical and conceptual implications of doing participatory and decolonising research.

Therefore, the need emerges from this thesis to continue the search for improved ways to conduct cross-cultural, decolonising and participatory research, which although not easy, remain as relevant and urgent lines of work. They can help to overcome essentialism, challenge marginalisation,

and rethink universalistic and ethnocentric views and assumptions. Non-indigenous peoples, and particularly geographers, have a key role to play in decolonising themselves and exploring possibilities to expand plural, inclusive and nurturing spaces of co-existence, learning from and with “others”. Therefore, it is important to continue the search for ways to acknowledge, value and enhance experiences and initiatives that are enacting better alternatives and innovations but that remain within the “unthinkable”.

An expansion and continuation of the “conversation” between work on modernity/decoloniality; (Anglo) human, development and indigenous geographies; and indigenous and Latin American contributions that often run in parallel tracks, remains also a fascinating and prolific task. Doing so is important to develop a scholarship more conscious of its own perspectives while embracing difference, and to move beyond the tendency to see the experiences and knowledges coming from the Third World as case studies that interpret or affirm Western knowledge, while considering only the West as capable of generating theoretical and general geographical knowledge.

Thus, building upon the conclusions reached in this thesis, areas for further research could include the on-going exploration of hybridity and contestation of discourses and practices around development and the environment, in particular taking seriously issues of ontological pluralism. This involves, among others, to continue the focus on issues such as Buen Vivir, the rights of Nature and indigenous (and Mapuche) and other non-hegemonic perspectives and knowledges. Also, this thesis laid the foundations for further research that advance the exploration of the implications and contestations of neoliberalism, relational ontologies, place and territory, and demands for autonomy and self-termination, in particular within tourism settings. Additionally, continuing to “queer” the economy by exploring diverse experiences, subjectivities and ontologies that inform different economic arrangements in indigenous and/or postcolonial settings, is crucial to continue displacing unproblematic and monolithic understandings of the economy. It is also a key to engaging with the power relations that shape the construction of these economies, as well as to strengthen our abilities to recognise and enact different economic possibilities.

In particular in Alto Bío-Bío, some of the issues that escaped the scope and reach of this thesis but that could provide very interesting insights, are the role of emotions in tourism settings, decision making, and the engagement and reworking of neoliberalism. While I was in the field, I noted it was not uncommon for actors to display their emotions associated with the experience of Trekaleyn, through crying, hugging, laughing and singing as well as through words. Work in this line would involve a more in-depth exploration of the encounters of community members with

tourists and staff from different institutions, the emotions this triggers or accentuates, and the impacts this has in the application and appropriation of neoliberal and multicultural policies and programs. Also, it includes looking at the transformations that actors beyond community members experience in these interactions, the ways in which they make sense of these encounters and learn, and how that influences their practices, bureaucratic and policy procedures, and the ways in which they support or inhibit initiatives such as Trekaleyin.

A personal and intellectual journey

Based on the questions and difficulties I faced when working in Sendero de Chile with Trekaleyin and the Pewenche communities, throughout these years as a PhD student I have engaged in an exploration of how, as a non-indigenous person, I (we) can try (or fail) to grasp issues of indigeneity, difference and decolonisation. Without resorting to essentialising and exoticising notions of the “other”, but rather understanding indigeneity as complex, historical and relational (De la Cadena and Starn, 2007b), I have looked at the identity politics, or the creative and on-going ways to perform, re-construct and co-construct indigeneity at play in Trekaleyin. These issues inform the ways in which Trekaleyin members are engaging with and re-working their self-determination, economies, identities and their relations to the rest of the society and their territories through tourism. But also, and very importantly, it has pointed to the need to consider and challenge my (our) own assumptions and understandings, and to re-think the possibilities of being involved in the construction of improved spaces of “pluralist co-existence” (Howitt et al., 2010), in more satisfactory, respectful and “acknowledging” ways. This is particularly contentious in a country with poor records in indigenous matters like Chile, is currently being questioned by the UN and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights of the Organization of American States (González, 2011; Cayuqueo, 2011). However, its implications go beyond any nation or state and concern us all.

In a context of marginalisation, racism, repression and dispossession, the communities of the Queuco Valley are engaged in processes of creative resistance and transformation that go well beyond the local. More than trying to prove any particular theoretical framework “on the ground”, this thesis has responded to a search for ideas and practices that can be helpful in grasping some of the complexities of the intersections of indigeneity, development and tourism, and thus contribute to the production of knowledges that can support decolonising and pluralist approaches. Therefore, throughout this thesis it has been important to acknowledge that, as Participatory Action Research

and decolonising methodologies suggest, theory and practice are intertwined and are not dichotomous elements, and that as “thinking-feeling” beings (Fals Borda, 2006b), through reflection and dialogue, we can actually transform the world. Looking at an initiative that is not a political or confrontational movement but rather an everyday business activity, has highlighted the ways in which I (we) can be “critically creative” and enact other possibilities while engaging with and subverting “dominant” or unjust systems.

Being able to recognise these possibilities and their implications required the adoption of a supportive and positive stance based on care and hope, that more than evaluating and measuring, focuses on process, possibilities and transformative practices (Gibson-Graham and Cameron, 2007). Therefore, although inevitably also involving a degree of rage and grief, this supportive, compassionate and hopeful stance has promoted a perspective that goes beyond approaches that reinforce the superior power of a “global, neo-liberal capitalist machine”, and prompted me to look at the contingency of social outcomes and the possibilities for experimentation and change. Recognising indigeneity as a “relational field of governance, subjectivities, and knowledges that involves us all-indigenous and nonindigenous-in the making and remaking of structures of power and imagination” (De la Cadena and Starn, 2007b p. 3), involves acknowledging connectivity and my (our) abilities and responsibilities as a non-indigenous person to search for appropriate, inclusive, committed and reflexive ways of being, including but going beyond the conduction of research. It has then entailed a process of personal transformation, a journey of emotional, intellectual and interpersonal change and reflection that I believe does not end with these final paragraphs.

Therefore, although many other interesting research topics remain to be explored, I hope to have engaged with the opportunities and challenges that Trekaleyin is opening for community members, developing an insightful, engaging and thought-provoking argument. Along this process, while improving my (and yours) understanding about Trekaleyin and how it can be related to other conversations and experiences around the world, it has become key to grasp and deal with some of the complexities, responsibilities and possibilities we have in thinking-feeling-acting-becoming in order to search and build better alternatives.

Finally, Mapuche struggles have been deemed to be introverted, specific, and developing only “short” and nuclear solidarities, arguably one of the disempowering effects of neoliberalism and neoliberal subjectivities (Gómez Leyton, 2010). However, I believe otherwise, and in this thesis I suggest that Mapuche and other indigenous peoples’ struggles should concern us all. They prompt us to engage in conversations around co-existence, the decolonisation of physical, legal and mental

boundaries, and the cultivation of the ability to question our relations among humans and with more-than-human beings. This thesis shows that the experience of Trekaleyn, as well as many other initiatives and discussions among indigenous peoples, constitute another way by which indigenous ontologies and knowledges (multiple and mixed), are hybridising, challenging and nuancing modern and Western knowledges and ways of being. To close with the words of Mapuche poet and activist elicura Chihuailaf:

Although it seems to be our problem, it is also a problem of the Chileans, but even more a problem of the entire humankind. We are facing a system that leads to human self-destruction; the destruction of plant life, of animals, and of the spirits and forces that exist and govern our sacred space ... As Mapuche we are obliged to say and demand to the capitalist and “modern” world that many of its creations serve very little to human integrity and happiness ... We do not think you can separate the mountain from the trees nor the spirits of our Ancestors from our life today. ... There will be no development while the knowledge of our Indigenous Peoples is hidden, while decisions about development are unilateral and, above all, are outside the cultural context of our peoples. We aspire to a development based on the respect for land, water and trees, the birds and all the cosmological environment (Chihuailaf, 1999 p. 100 - 101, my translation).

GLOSSARY OF WORDS IN MAPUDUNGÚN

Az mapu, Ad Mapu	Regulations (Az) that apply to each place (Mapu)
Che	People, person
Chedungún, Mapudungún	Mapuche language
Ekún	Admiration
Filla	Scarcity
Inkawün	The defense of oneself and the collective
Ixofil mongen	Harmony, balance with nature. Also translated as biodiversity
Kejuwün	Collaboration, support
Kimche	Wise one, elder
Kimün, kimu, kimvn	Mapuche knowledge, wisdom
Kishu Mapuche günewün	Self-regulation
Kizungünewal	Self-government
Küme felen	Wellbeing involving humans, non-humans and cosmic forces
Küme mongen	Good life
Küme newén	Positive energies or forces
kümeche	Good person in a broad sense
Küpalme	Blood ties, lineage
Laku	Godfather
Lamién	Brothers and/or sister when used by a woman referring to others (either men or women), or by men referring to women. Used commonly among Mapuche people with or without blood ties
Lof	Community headed by a lonko
Lonko	Literally “head”, traditional community leader

Machi	Healer, chamán
Mapu	Land
Newén	Strenth, force
Ngen	Spiritual “owner” of natural elements
Ngenechen, Chau Ngenechen	God
Nguillatún	The most important Mapuche religious ceremoni
Nor felen	Good conduct
Ñuke Mapu	Mother Earth
Peñi	Brother among men. Used commonly among Mapuche people with or withoug blood ties
Pewma	Dream
Piñon	Pewén nut
Trueke	Barter
Tuwün	Physical space, place of a community
Üjwentun	Caring for others
Ulmén	Abundance
Waj Mapu	Universe
Wajontu Mapu	The big spaces, territory
Wallmapu	Mapuche ancestral territory
Weda newén	Negative energies, forces
Winka	Non-Mapuche (literally thief, invasor)
Wiñoltuwün zugu	Reciprocity
Xafkellugün	Traditional Mapuche economic system
Xafkintun	Exchange
Yamün	Respect

GLOSSARY OF WORDS IN SPANISH

Araucanía, Araucano	The Spanish called Araucanía the Mapuche territory and araucano the Mapuche people, names still in use in Chile despite their contested colonial legacy
Autogestión	Self-organisation, self-management
Alcalde	Mayor
Buen Vivir	Good Life. An increasingly used term in Latin America, mainly in Ecuador and Bolivia, that refers to more respectful, balanced and sustainable approaches to development
Cocinería	Eatery. Small establishment that serves food on request
Colonos	Settlers, referring mainly to the more recent migrants to Mapuche territory since the twentieth century
Comuna	The smallest administrative unit in Chile
Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia (Concertación)	Political centre-left coalition that governed Chile with four elected presidents between 1990 (when Pinochet's dictatorship ended) and 2010, when Sebastián Piñera, from the centre-right coalition Alianza por Chile assumed presidency
Economía social y solidaria	Social and solidarity economy. An approach to the economy in broader terms being developed in Latin American countries
Fondo de Aguas y tierras	Water and Lands Fund
Indio imposible	Impossible Indian
Indio insurrecto	Insurrect Indian
Indio permitido	Permitted, acceptable Indian
Inquilino, mediero	Different modalities of tenants in rural Chile
Invernadas	Lowlands in the valleys where people spend winters and where permanent houses and constructions are located
Liceo	High school
Mundo Mapuche	Mapuche World

Municipalidad	Municipality, the institutions that administrates the comuna headed by an “alcalde” or mayor
Parlamentos	Treaties held between the Mapuche and the Spanish Crown between 1641 and 1803 that despite having been recognised as valid legal documents by international jurisprudence, have been disregarded by the Chilean state
Privatizar	To privatise
Ramada	Temporary building traditionally made of branches constructed for ceremonies such as the <i>Nguillatún</i> and other events
Reducciones	Indigenous reservations where the Mapuche were confined with the creation of the Títulos de Merced
Rogativa	Rogation or brief prayer
Seres sentir-pensantes	Thinking-feeling beings. Notion proposed by Orlando Fals Borda (2006b) that those involved in research necessarily engage at intellectual and emotional levels
Tierras usurpadas	Usurped lands. For the Mapuche they include land that belonged to the different <i>lof</i> and were recognized by the Parliaments and treaties signed with the Spanish but were not included in the Títulos de Merced. Also, land included in the Títulos de Merced that were later appropriated by non-indigenous people throughout the twentieth century, as well as land recognized by the state during the agrarian reforms and later handed back to the former “legal” owners (Aylwin, 2007)
Título de Merced	Mapuche reservations created by the Chilean state between 1883 and 1920 that reduced Mapuche territory to 5% of its original extension
Tortilla	Bread baked buried in ashes
Trilla	Wheat threshing using with horses
Turismo comunitario	Community tourism
Veranada	Grasslands in the higher mountains where families move to spend the summer in order to feed their cattle and gather forest products
Yerba mate	The leaf of a bush used for a caffeine-rich infusion commonly consumed in Alto Bío-Bío as well as in other parts of southern Chile and South America, such as Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. It is not produced in Chile and is mainly exported from Argentina

APPENDIX 1: TREKALEYIN WEBSITE

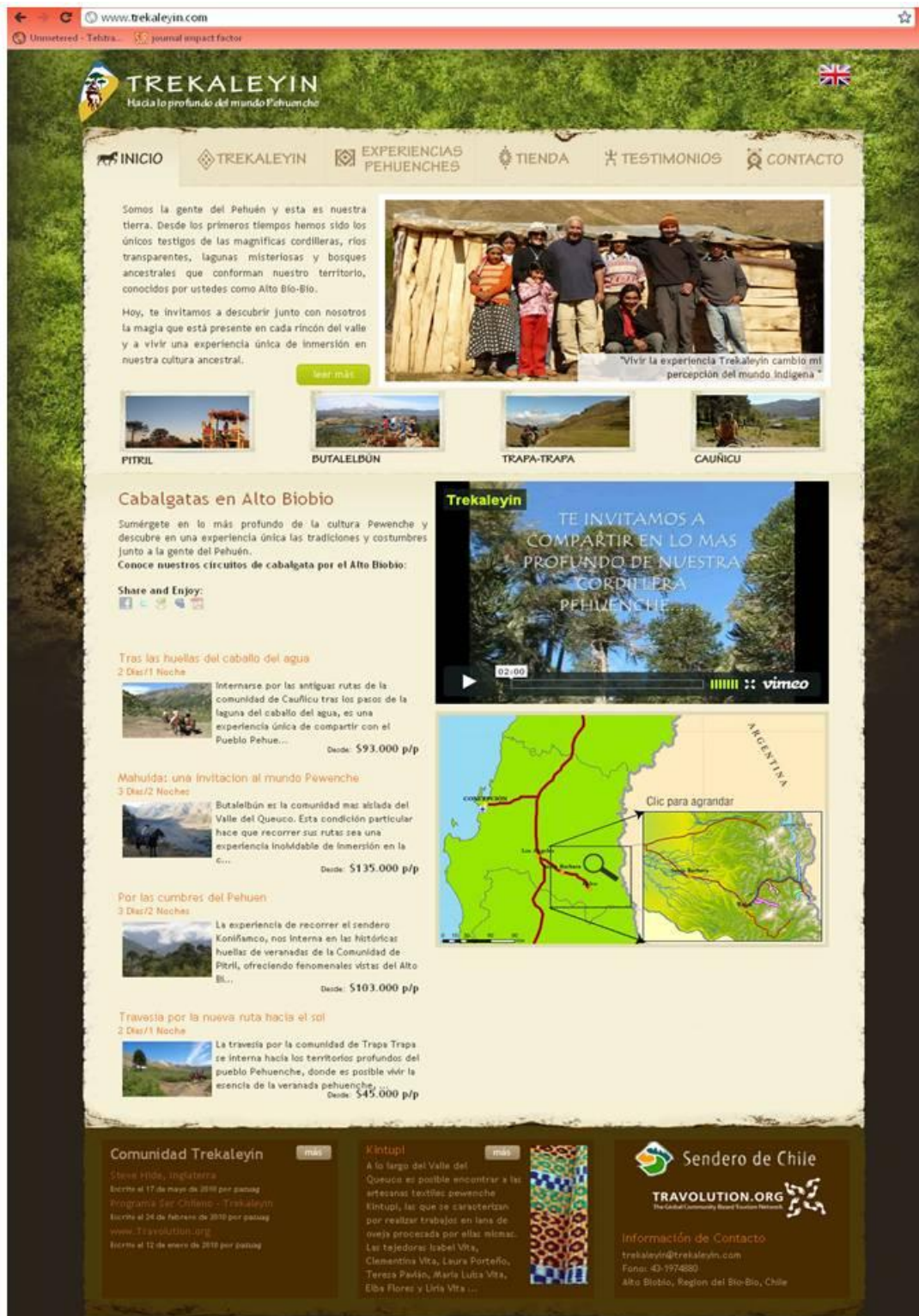


Figure 40: Trekaleyin website home page, Spanish version



Figure 41: Trekaleyn website home page, English version

Trekaleyn - Trekaleyn
Trekaleyn - Trekaleyn
Trekaleyn
www.trekaleyn.com / trekaleyn/
Unmetered - Telstra... personal impact factor


TREKALEYIN
Hacia lo profundo del mundo Pehuenche


 INICIO
 TREKALEYIN
 EXPERIENCIAS PEHUENCHES
 TIENDA
 TESTIMONIOS
 CONTACTO

Trekaleyn



Boques de Konfianco - Pitrl

Somos una organización Pehuenche, que a través del turismo comunitario busca compartir y poner en valor las actividades que realizamos tradicionalmente y desde tiempos inmemoriales en nuestras veranadas, las tierras altas de la cordillera del Alto Biobío.

Nuestros objetivos apuntan a mejorar las condiciones económicas de nuestras familias, a través de una actividad respetuosa con la tradición del territorio y su patrimonio cultural y natural.

Trekaleyn esta conformado por emprendedores y prestadores de servicios turísticos Pehuenche de 4 comunidades del valle del Queuco, Alto Biobío: Butalebún, Trapa Trapa, Caulfucú y Pitrl. Guías, artesanas, cocineras, dueños de camping y cabafías, propietarios de caballos, son quienes forman parte de nuestra organización.

Nuestros primeros pasos se remontan a la primavera del 2005, cuando se genera un vínculo entre las 4 comunidades y el Sendero de Chile, la ONG SEPADE, además del Programa Servicio País Rural. A partir de este encuentro visualizamos el gran potencial de las huellas transitadas históricamente por nuestro pueblo cuando vamos a las veranadas, para ser trabajadas con un enfoque de turismo comunitario.

Entonces empezamos a soñar con que los turistas podrían venir a conocer nuestro territorio y a nosotros mismos, cuidando nuestra naturaleza y cultura, siendo no tan solo un espectador, sino más bien un protagonista de nuestra iniciativa y compartiendo una experiencia inolvidable en tierras pehuenche.

Por otra parte, en años anteriores, nos ganamos un proyecto llamado "Cabalgando y Caminando por nuestras huellas antiguas" (II Concurso de Turismo Sustentable en el Sendero de Chile) que permitió habilitar con infraestructura, capacitarnos, adquirir equipos, pero lo más importante, generar espacios para el encuentro y debate sobre el desarrollo local asociado al senderismo y turismo.

En la temporada 2006 - 2007, comienzan a aparecer los primeros visitantes en nuestras huellas, lo cual nos motivo fuertemente a seguir adelante y, al mismo tiempo, preguntarnos: ¿Cuál es la mejor manera de organizar nuestra oferta? Con el proyecto Trekaleyn (III Concurso de Turismo Sustentable en el Sendero de Chile), buscamos una figura organizativa que nos permitiera una mejor promoción, donde cada comunidad organizara participativamente su oferta turística local.

Nuestra invitación consiste en experiencias hacia lo mas profundo de la vida pehuenche, ya sea a través de cabalgatas por huellas que conducen hacia nuestras veranadas, o compartiendo con nosotros, ya sea en la conversación con el guía, con la ñaña que prepara deliciosas comidas tradicionales, o en el trabajo artesanal, siempre con la experiencia de internarse y maravillarse con la naturaleza de nuestras montañas y la magia que encierra.

Hoy, fruto de nuestro esfuerzo y entusiasmo, nos reunimos bajo el alero de Asociación Indígena Red de Senderos Ecoturísticos Trekaleyn, planteándonos como meta llegar a ser una microempresa local, manejada por gente de nuestro pueblo y con un fuerte espíritu comunitario y de repartición justa de los beneficios, que seamos capaces de promover y dar a conocer las maravillas hasta ahora desconocidas de nuestro territorio, con respeto e identidad cultural.


PITRL

BUTALEBÚN

TRAPA-TRAPA

CAULFUCÚ

Trekaleyn



Somos una organización Pehuenche, que a través del turismo comunitario busca compartir y poner en valor las actividades que realizamos tradicionalmente y desde tiempos inmemoriales en nuestras veranadas, las tierras altas de la cordillera del Alto Biobío...

Cultura



La recolección del piñón o nguillu, semilla del árbol de araucaria, es nuestra actividad tradicional por excelencia en el territorio. El origen de nuestro nombre como pueblo (Pehuenche) surge de la unión de las palabras pehuén: araucaria, y chei: gente, la gente de la araucaria...

Kintupi



La Asociación de Artesanas Pehuenche Kintupi (las que buscan), es una asociación conformada por cinco pequeñas agrupaciones de mujeres tejedoras pertenecientes a las comunidades de Pitrl, Caulfucú, Trapa Trapa y Butalebún...

Aves



La riqueza y biodiversidad del territorio pehuenche del Alto Bio-Bio se manifiesta en la presencia de una gran cantidad de aifauna, mucha de la cual es posible de observar y escuchar durante los recorridos por la cordillera...

Flora



En la cultura pehuenche, cada ser vivo posee un espíritu que debe ser respetado. Es así como existe una gran cantidad de especies nativas que conforman el bosque del Alto Bio-Bio, y que el visitante puede conocer a través de los viajes al interior de la cordillera...




Caballos - Trapa Trapa




Figure 42: Trekaleyn website, under Trekaleyn tab, Spanish version

Trekaleyn - Trekaleyn
Trekaleyn - Trekaleyn
Trekaleyn
en.trekaleyn.com / trekaleyn/
Unmetered - Telcel... journal impact factor


TREKALEYN
Deep into the Pehuenche world

 HOME
 TREKALEYN
 PEHUENCHE EXPERIENCE
 STORE
 TESTIMONIALS
 CONTACT

Trekaleyn



Bosques de Konfianco - Pitril

We are a Pehuenche organization that, through communitarian tourism, aims to share and give value to activities we have traditionally carried out since immemorial times in our summer highlands or veranadas, in the Andes Mountains in Alto Bio Bio.

We aim to improve the economic situation of our families by developing an activity that is respectful of the traditions of our territory, and its cultural and natural heritage.


Trekaleyn brings together Pehuenche entrepreneurs in tourism from four communities of the Queuco Valley, which are Butalelbun, Trapa Trapa, Caulfichu and Pitril. They include tourist guides, artisans, cooks, camping and cabins owners and horse owners, who are all part of our organization.

Our first steps can be traced back to the spring of 2005, when was first established the link between the four communities, Sendero de Chile, SEPADE (NGO) and Servicio Pais Rural. Since then we have realized the huge potential that our ancient mountain track offer to work in communitarian tourism.

We started to dream that tourists could come to know our territories and us, taking care of our environment and culture, not just being a spectator but rather a protagonist of our initiative, and sharing an unforgettable experience in Pehuenche lands.

Some years ago, we were granted a project called "Riding and walking our ancient tracks" (II Sustainable Tourism Award, Sendero de Chile), that funded the construction of infrastructure, training, equipment purchase, and more important, generated spaces to meet and discuss about local development associated to tourism.

During the 2006-2007 season, the first visitors arrived to our tracks, which motivated us to keep working, and at the same time, to ask ourselves: Which is the best way to organize what we offer?. With a new project, Trekaleyn (III Sustainable Tourism Award, Sendero de Chile), we searched for an organizational structure to improve the marketing of our work, where each community has a participatory process to arrange their touristic offer.



Caballos - Trapa Trapa



PITRIL



BUTALELBUN



TRAPA-TRAPA



CAULFICHU

Trekaleyn



We are a Pehuenche organization that, through communitarian tourism, aims to share and give value to activities we have traditionally carried out since immemorial times in our summer highlands or veranadas, in the Andes Mountains in Alto Bio Bio...

Culture



Araucaria tree"...

The gathering of the piñón or nguillu, which is the Araucaria seed, is our primary traditional activity in our territories. In fact, the origin of our name as peoples, Pehuenche, comes from joining together the words pehuen (Araucaria) and che (people), that is: "the people of the

Kintupi



The Association of Pehuenche Artisans, Kintupi (the ones that search for) is an association of five small groups of female weavers from the communities of Pitril, Caulfichu, Malla Malla, Trapa Trapa and Butalelbun...



Figure 43: Trekaleyin website, under Trekaleyin tab, English version

APPENDIX 2

HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE APPLICATION AND APPROVAL FORMS

Ref: HEC 2008/112

14 October

Marcela P Schalscha
Department of Geography
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Marcela

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal "Making development, making a living. Development discourses and practices among the Pehuenche communities in the Queuco Valley, Alto Bio Bio, Chile" has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 7 October 2008.

Bestwishes for your project.

Yours sincerely

Dr Michael Grimshaw
Chair, Human Ethics Committee

UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY - HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

APPLICATION FOR REVIEW AND APPROVAL

This form should be completed in the light of the Principles and Guidelines issued by the Human Ethics Committee. Applicants must read those before filling out the application form. The latest versions of both the Guidelines and the Application Form can be found on the website of the Human Ethics Committee.
website: <http://www.canterbury.ac.nz/humanethics>

NOTE:- This electronic copy may not have sufficient space for completion of all parts of the form if downloaded as a blank copy of the application form. It is intended as a template for use by those staff and students who have access to a word processor. When typing in please type where the paragraph marks start after each question, not in the actual boxes.

Staff members are reminded that the guidelines and the application form are subject to occasional amendment.

PLEASE SEND ten printed or typed copies of the completed form, duly signed by applicant and supervisor or Head of Department, and of the relevant documents referred to in questions 3, 7,8,9,10, 11, 15 to the HEC Secretary, Level 6, The Registry

1. PROJECT NAME:

Making development, making a living. Development discourses and practices among the Pehuenche communities in the Queuoco Valley, Alto Bio Bio, Chile

2. NAME OF APPLICANT: Marcela Andrea Palomino Schalscha

Contact Telephone No: 021-02741898

UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT (or other contact address): Geography

email address (if available): map122@student.canterbury.ac.nz

STATUS OF PROJECT (e.g., EDUC X YZ class project, M.A., M.Ed., M.Sc., Ph.D., Staff research study): PhD

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Julie Cupples, Dr. Nicole Gombay

OTHER INVESTIGATORS:

SIGNED BY: Applicant: Date:

HOD/Supervisor: Date:

A check page at the end of this application must also be signed by the applicant and, if the applicant is a student, by the applicant's supervisor

- | | | Delete which
ever is in-
applicable |
|---|--|---|
| 3 | (a) WILL THE PROJECT REQUIRE ETHICAL APPROVAL FROM OTHER BODIES?
e.g. Health and Disability Ethics Committee
If Yes please explain how this approval has been or will be obtained, enclosing
copies of relevant correspondence. | No |
| | (b) WILL THE PROJECT REQUIRE APPROVAL FOR ACCESS TO THE
PARTICIPANTS FROM OTHER INDIVIDUALS OR BODIES?
(e.g., parents, guardians, school principals, teachers, boards, responsible
authorities, etc.)
If Yes please explain how this approval has been or will be obtained, enclosing
copies of relevant correspondence | Yes |
| 4 | (a) IS THE PROJECT BEING EXTERNALLY FUNDED?
If Yes, please identify the source of funds.

This project is partially funded by the New Zealand Postgraduate Study
Abroad Awards (Education New Zealand). | Yes |
| | (b) IS THE PROJECT COMMISSIONED BY, OR CARRIED OUT ON BEHALF OF AN
EXTERNAL BODY?
If Yes, please identify the body. | No |

A. DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

Answer the following questions in language which is, as far as possible, comprehensible to lay people.

5. AIM

- (a) What is the objective of the project?

From a geographical perspective, this research aims to examine the discourses and practices by which development is articulated, made meaningful and contested by particular indigenous communities in Chile, according to the local particularities and broader contexts in which they are situated.

- (b) Describe the type of information sought.

Qualitative methodologies have been chosen for this research, in accordance with its focus and location. In particular, action research and ethnographic methodologies will be used.

This research will involve six-months fieldwork in five Pehuenche communities in Chile, where individual and group in-depth unstructured interviews. Also participant observation will be done at different events, such as meetings and other activities that community members hold between them and/or with other institutions on topics relevant to the research, and activities related to ecotourism like horse riding trips, tourist activities (done in camping sites, cabins, food services, production and selling of handicraft, etc.), and other daily activities.

The information the participants will be asked to share is linked to the following topics:

- Identity, organization and empowerment.
- Natural resources and territory: management and conflicts over their control

-
- and access.
 - Tourism: Approaches/Attitudes towards tourism, motivations and expectations.
 - Local configurations of economy and links with culture and development.
 - Ideas and practices about their own development: Expectations, differences, particularities, conflicts and political implications.
-

(c) Give the specific hypothesis, if any, to be tested.

N/A.

6 PROCEDURE

Describe in practical terms how the participants will be treated, what tasks they will be asked to perform, etc. Indicate how much time is likely to be involved in carrying out the various tasks.

Participants will be treated with respect, and will be interviewed in a location and time according to their will, availability and activities.

They will be interviewed individually or in groups, and they will be asked to discuss some topics in a reflective conversation. According to the topics, they might be asked to draw diagrams or maps. The length of the interviews will be arranged with the participant beforehand, and are likely to last from half an hour to 3 hours. Some participants will be interviewed more than once.

Participant observation will always be done in situations/locations that participants have agreed to share as part of the research process, and will involve activities such as meetings and other activities that community members hold between them and/or with other institutions, including horse riding trips, touristic tasks (done in camping sites, cabins, food services, production and selling of handicraft, etc.), and other daily activities.

7 DOES THE PROJECT INVOLVE A QUESTIONNAIRE?

No

If Yes, please attach a copy, if possible.

[Note: The HEC does not normally approve a project which involves a questionnaire without seeing the questionnaire, although it may preview applications in some cases where the production of the questionnaire is delayed for good reason.]

8 (a) DOES THE PROJECT INVOLVE A STRUCTURED INTERVIEW?

No

If Yes, please list the topics to be covered and the questions to be used.

(b) DOES THE PROJECT INVOLVE AN UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW?

Yes

If Yes, please list the range of topics likely to be discussed.

- Identity, organization and empowerment.
The participants will be asked about the meanings of identifying themselves as Pehuenche, the kind of organizations they have and their degree of participation in them.
- Natural resources and territory: management and conflicts over their control and access. Links with development and politics.
The participants will be asked to identify the main natural resources and characteristics of their territories. They will be asked about the uses and practices they make of them (traditional/modern management), and the conflicts they are facing to develop these practices, if any.
They will be asked about the ways these practices are linked with their future development and cultural reproduction, and the power relations they entail.

- Tourism: Approaches/attitudes towards tourism, motivations and expectations.

The participants will be asked about their opinion and attitude towards the ecotourism initiatives that are being developed in their communities. They will be asked about their role and degree of involvement with them, their motivations, and what do they expect from these initiatives for their future development, at the individual and collective level.

- Local configurations of economy and links with culture and development.

The participants will be asked about the main elements of the local economy and its characteristics. They will be asked about how Pehuenche culture shapes this particular configuration, and what are their expectation for their future development.

- Ideas and practices about their own development: Expectations, differences, particularities, conflicts and political implications.

The participants will be asked about the meaning of development for them, at the individual and collective level. Those meanings will be linked to what being a Pehuenche involves, and how they might be different from the meanings of development for non-Pehuenche.

They will be asked about their dreams for the future (short and long term), and then about the place of their identity on those dreams.

They will be asked about the main reasons that might stop or difficult those dreams to come true, and conflicts they might have.

They will also be asked about the power relations involved on their ideas of development, how they interact with State institutions and rules, and other relevant actors that might appear during the conversations.

- (c) IF THE PROJECT INVOLVES AN INTERVIEW OF EITHER TYPE, WILL IT BE
RECORDED BY: AUDIO-TAPE
OR VIDEO-TAPE?

Yes
No

- (d) WILL THE PARTICIPANTS BE OFFERED THE OPPORTUNITY TO CHECK THE
TRANSCRIPT OF THE INTERVIEW?

Yes

In the case of the Group interviews, a representative number of the participants will be offered the opportunity to check the transcripts (always more than three participants).

B. PARTICIPANTS

9 (a) WHO ARE THE PARTICIPANTS?

- Members of five Mapuche - Pehuenche communities living in the Queuco Valley, Alto Bio Bio, Chile. These five communities are: Pitrii, Cauñicú, Malla Malla, Trapa Trapa and Butalelbún.
- Extra-community individuals: Leaders of Mapuche organizations, academics, and staff from relevant institutions at the local, regional and national level.

(b) HOW ARE THEY TO BE RECRUITED?

If recruitment is by advertisement or letter or notice, please attach a copy.

Snow ball sampling will be used to recruit the participants. This means that I will choose who to interview according to their level of knowledge, roles and involvement in relevant topics.

Community members who wish to be interviewed and approach the researcher will be considered too, as well as others strongly recommended inside the communities.

(c) WILL ANY FORM OF INDUCEMENT BE OFFERED?

No

If Yes, please give details and a brief justification.

(d) IF A SELECTION FROM A GROUP IS NECESSARY, HOW WILL IT BE MADE? (e.g., randomly, by age, gender, ethnic origin, other - please give details.)

Among community members, participants will be women and men over 18 years old, involved or not in tourism, and with different roles in the communities (leaders, lonko or head of the community, werken or spokesperson, ngerpin or ceremonies leader, etc.) as well as ordinary people.

Extra-community individuals will be selected according to their roles, activities and level of knowledge.

(e) HOW MANY PARTICIPANTS (OF EACH CATEGORY, WHERE RELEVANT) DO YOU INTEND RECRUITING?

According to the chosen sampling technique (snow ball sampling), it is impossible to determine beforehand the exact number of people to be interviewed, as this can only be decided during the research process.

However, it is considered that at least 30 individual interviews will be conducted among community members, and 10 among extra community individuals.

C. INFORMATION AND CONSENT

10. WHAT INFORMATION IS BEING GIVEN TO PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPANTS?

Please attach a copy of the Information Sheet (or sheets if there are different categories of participant or if responsible persons, other than participants, need to be informed).

If information is being supplied orally, please provide a full description of the information provided.

Complete and detailed information about the research and the researcher will be provided to the participants, following HEC Principles and Guidelines.

- To the members of the Pehuenche communities under study, information about this research will be given orally (collectively and individually), because of the high level of illiteracy among them, as well as because of cultural concerns. In the first meeting, the attached "Information sheet for communities members" will be read and explained. This document will be also read with each participant before the first interview, to ensure that everybody is given all the information about the project.
- To the extra-community individuals, and Information Sheet will be given and read with them before starting the interviews. See the attached "Information sheet for extra-community individuals".

[NOTE:- Projects which involve only an anonymous questionnaire may not necessarily require a separate information sheet, provided that the rubric of the questionnaire includes your name and contact number as well as the other points contained in the model shown in the GUIDELINES. In general, however, the HEC recommends that participants be given an information sheet, which they may retain, unless there are good reasons against such a procedure.]

- 11 HOW IS INFORMED CONSENT TO BE OBTAINED?
- | | | |
|--------|--|-----|
| (a) | The research is strictly <u>anonymous</u> , an information sheet is supplied and informed consent is implied by voluntary participation in filling out a questionnaire (include a copy of the rubric for the questionnaire as in Appendix C of the Guidelines) | No |
| or (b) | The research is not anonymous, but is <u>confidential</u> and informed consent will be obtained through a signed consent form (include a copy of the consent form and information sheet) | No |
| or (c) | The research is <u>neither anonymous nor confidential</u> and informed consent will be obtained through a signed consent form (include a copy of the consent form and information sheet) | Yes |
| or (d) | Informed consent will be obtained by some other method. (please specify and provide details) | Yes |

Extra-community individuals (like national leaders, researchers, government officials, etc.) will be given the option to be identified or not, and their identity will consequently remain or not confidential. They will be asked to sign a Consent Form where they express their choice. See the attached "Consent form for extra-communities individuals".

Consent among the community members will be obtained orally, and will involve collective and individual agreements.

Traditional Pehuenche procedures of personal introduction will be followed to obtain informed consent in the communities as a collective.

These procedures state that when I arrive to their territories, a meeting must be organized with the representatives of the "Asociación de Longkos", that include a broad range of community leaders and other

relevant community members. In this meeting, I will re-introduce myself (some of them already know me) and the "Information sheet for communities members" will be read and explained.

In this meeting, oral collective consent will be obtained by the Asociación de Longkos, and the attached "Information and consent Checklist: Asociación de Longkos" will be completed by me to ensure that all topics were covered.

Also, agreements will be made about the research scope and boundaries, its relevant topics and expected results, and the necessary support and coordination within the communities and with other institutions.

In this meeting a commission will be appointed with whom I will continue to define and agree more specific topics, like methodological concerns, access to information, and the design of a plan to ensure that the research process is done according to the communities will, is participatory and enables collective reflection and learning.

At the individual level, before starting any interview, I will give information about the research, (according to the attached "Information sheet for communities members"). Then I will explain and make sure that each person is participating voluntarily, and that they have the right to withdraw at anytime from the research. In order to make sure that all these aspects have been covered before starting any interview, the "Information and consent Checklist: Individual community members" will be filled (see attached).

The identity of the community members and leaders will always remain strictly confidential.

- (e) Where confidentiality is promised, what will be done to ensure that the identities of participants cannot be known by unauthorized persons? (e.g. use of pseudonyms and disguising of identifying material)

For the participants who ask for confidentiality, the consent forms, records and transcriptions of their interviews will be safe kept during and after the fieldwork and research process.

Also pseudonyms will be used at all stages, and no pictures or other information that could enable participants to be identified will be used, or will be disguised.

[Note :- Separate information sheets and consent forms may be required if there are different categories of participant, or if consent is needed from responsible persons, other than participants.]

12. ARE THE PARTICIPANTS COMPETENT TO GIVE INFORMED CONSENT ON THEIR OWN BEHALF? Yes

If No, please explain:

(a) why they are not competent to give informed consent on their own behalf.

(b) how consent will be obtained.

D. RISK, DECEPTION, PRIVACY

13. WHERE WILL THE PROJECT BE CONDUCTED?

It will be conducted in Chile, mainly in the five Mapuche - Pehuenche communities, in the Queuco Valley, Alto Bio Bio. Also, some interviews will be conducted in cities like Santiago, Concepción and Temuco.

14. FORESEEABLE RISKS TO THE PARTICIPANTS

(a) Is there any risk to physical well-being? No

(b) Could participation involve mental stress or emotional distress? No

(c) Is there a possibility of giving moral or cultural offence? Yes

If the answer to any of those questions is "Yes", please indicate briefly the nature of the risk and what actions you could take, or support mechanisms you could rely on, if a participant should become injured, distressed or offended while taking part in this project.

Cultural offence will be avoided following all the traditional procedures and protocols, and also always agreeing beforehand any activity with the appointed commission of communities' representatives, and with the individuals involved.

As I worked in the communities for one year, and did my undergraduate thesis research among Mapuche communities, I have some knowledge about these protocols, so I don't expect to have major problems in the future.

15. IS DECEPTION INVOLVED AT ANY STAGE OF THE PROJECT? No

[NOTE: The use in the information sheet or consent form or questionnaire of a title which differs from the project title given in this application form, in order not to reveal the real aim of the project, is considered to be a form of deception - however mild.]

If Yes, please

(a) explain how and why it is to be used and how the participants will be 'debriefed' following their participation in the project.

(b) attach a copy of the debriefing sheet prepared for use by the researcher or for distribution to the participants after their participation in the project or after the completion of the project.

16. WILL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SUBJECTS BE OBTAINED FROM THIRD PARTIES? No

If Yes, please state:

(a) the identity of the third party or parties.

(b) why such information is needed.

-
- (c) whether appropriate consents for access to such information have been or will be obtained.
 - (d) whether the use of such data in your research project needs the consent of the participants.

[NOTE: It may happen that by virtue of your job, you have right of access to information concerning the participants. Such information may have been given by the participants for a particular purpose or collated by yourself or colleagues in the normal course of your job. The use of such information for a quite different purpose (i.e., a research project culminating in some form of report) may well require that potential participants at least be informed that their agreement to participate may involve such use. The Information Privacy Principles should be consulted for guidance in this area.]

F. DATA STORAGE AND FUTURE USE

17 HOW WILL THE DATA BE STORED?

(a) Where will the data with identifying information be securely stored?

During fieldwork, all data (interviews, notes, pictures, etc.) will be kept in a locked cabinet in the researcher's room, which will remain locked when I'm not there.

After fieldwork, the data will be kept locked in my office's drawer.

Digital data will require a password to be accessed, which will be known just to the researcher and supervisors.

(b) Where will the data with no identifying information be securely stored?

All data will be stored together, so refer to the question above.

Note: All storage facilities should be locked and should be in rooms which can be locked.

(c) Who will have authorised access to the data?

I, Marcela Palomino, the researcher, and my supervisors.

(d) What will be done to ensure that unauthorised persons do not have access to the data?

It will be kept locked, and soft copies will require a secret password to be accessed.

(e) What will happen to the raw data at the end of the project?

It will be kept locked and safe for possible future publication for five years.

18 WHAT PLANS DO YOU HAVE FOR PUBLICATION OF THE DATA?

Based on the data, I will publish my PhD thesis, journal articles and conference presentations, always using pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants who chose to remain confidential.

19 ARE THERE PLANS FOR FUTURE USE OF THE DATA BEYOND THOSE ALREADY DESCRIBED? No

If Yes, please describe the future use.

[NOTE: It may be the case that such future use should properly involve the production at an appropriate later date of additional information sheets and/or consent forms prior to such use. In that case, copies of those additional documents should be sent to the Human Ethics Committee, along with a covering letter referring to the present project, for HEC approval.]

Secretary, Human Ethics Committee

E CHECK LIST

Please check the following items before sending the completed form to the Committee.
Circle N.A. i.e., Not Applicable, where appropriate.

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| All the necessary signatures on page 1 have been obtained. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| All the necessary approvals under Q 3 have been obtained or are the subject of correspondence of which copies are attached. | <input type="checkbox"/> or N.A. |
| A copy of any questionnaire, with an appropriate rubric at the beginning or accompanied by an appropriate covering page, is attached. | <input type="checkbox"/> or N.A. |
| A list of interview topics and, for a structured interview, a reasonably detailed list of questions, is attached. | <input type="checkbox"/> or N.A. |
| A copy of any advertisement, or notice, or informative letter asking for volunteers is attached. | <input type="checkbox"/> or N.A. |
| A copy of each information sheet required is attached. | <input type="checkbox"/> or N.A. |
| A copy of each consent form required is attached. | <input type="checkbox"/> or N.A. |
| A copy of the required debriefing sheet is attached. | <input type="checkbox"/> or N.A. |

Attention to the preceding check list is intended to ensure that the application and its documentation have been thoroughly reviewed by the applicant and (where applicable) by the supervisor and that the preparation of the project is up to the standard expected of and by the University of Canterbury.

The signature of the applicant will be understood to imply that the applicant has designed the project and prepared the application with due regard to the principles and guidelines of the HEC, that all the questions in the application form have been duly answered and that the necessary documentation has been properly formulated and checked.

APPLICANT'S NAME :-
and SIGNATURE:-

The signature of the supervisor will be understood to imply in addition that, in the judgment of the supervisor, the design and documentation are of a standard appropriate for a research project carried out in the name of the University of Canterbury or for training in such research.

SUPERVISOR'S NAME :-
and SIGNATURE:-

For HEC use.
Comments.

Recommended action

- (1) Approve
- (2) Approve subject to some action (**SPECIFY**)
- (3) Defer approval until applicant and/or supervisor have responded to points raised.
- (4) Withhold approval and return the application for redrafting and resubmission.
- (5) Reject the application and return it to the applicant with reasons given.
- (6) Refer the applicant to another authority, e.g., Health and Disability Ethics Cttee.

Secretary, Human Ethics Committee

SPANISH VERSION

Departamento de Geografía

Hoja de información para miembros de las comunidades.

Esta información será compartida con los miembros de las comunidades colectivamente en la primera reunión, y luego individualmente antes de realizar la primera entrevista a cada participante.

Gracias por su interés en este proyecto. Es importante que usted(es) conozca(n) esta información antes de decidirse si desea(n) o no participar en este proyecto.

¿Qué es este proyecto y cuál es su objetivo?

Este proyecto de investigación, es parte de un Doctorado que Marcela A. Palomino Schalscha está realizando en la Universidad de Canterbury, en Nueva Zelanda.

El nombre de este proyecto es "Hacer nuestras vidas, hacer desarrollo. Discursos y prácticas acerca de desarrollo en las comunidades Pe huenches del valle del Río Queuco, Alto Bio Bio, Chile".

Este proyecto busca estudiar las ideas acerca del "desarrollo" que tienen las comunidades. Esto significa comprender su significado para las comunidades, y también, entender cómo estas ideas son negociadas con otras personas e instituciones.

Esto es importante para poder reconocer que "desarrollo" no es lo mismo para todos, y que es necesario entender cómo distintas personas o comunidades lo interpretan para así buscar maneras más democráticas, respetuosas y participativas de pensar y trabajar por el desarrollo, ya que elegir el propio desarrollo que se quiere es un derecho. Por eso, se espera que este trabajo sea útil para las comunidades mismas, para los investigadores y académicos, y también para quienes hacen y aplican las políticas públicas.

¿Quiénes participarán en este proyecto de investigación?

Participarán en este proyecto las comunidades y personas del Valle del Queuco que así lo deseen. A quienes deseen participar, se lo agradeceremos muchísimo, pero si por cualquier motivo se decide no participar, no habrá ningún inconveniente.

Es muy importante que primero los Longkos y dirigentes de las comunidades, a través de la Asociación de Longkos del Valle del Queuco, lleguen a un acuerdo respecto a si les interesa o no que se haga esta investigación. Si dicen que bueno, entonces cada persona también podrá individualmente decidir si quiere o no participar.

Además de los miembros y dirigentes de las comunidades, en esta investigación también se incluirán a personas de las ONG y otras instituciones importantes en Alto Bio Bio, así como también a dirigentes Mapuche a nivel nacional.

Si decidimos/decido participar ¿qué tendré(mos) que hacer?

Si decide(n) ser parte de este proyecto, se le harán una o varias entrevistas. Estas entrevistas pueden ser a usted solo(a), o en grupos. El horario y lugar de las entrevistas será acordado de antemano entre todos los que vayamos para que nos acomode lo más posible.

Las entrevistas durarán entre media a tres horas, pero eso también será acordado de antemano para que todos nos podamos organizar bien.

Los temas de las entrevistas serán convenidos con la Asociación de Longkos previamente, y la idea es que en las entrevistas todos podamos conocernos, conversar y aprender unos de otros.

Además, Marcela participará de actividades en las comunidades a las que sea invitada y bienvenida.

Si decimos/digo que queremos/quiero participar pero después cambiamos/cambio de opinión ¿Qué pasa?

Si cambia(n) de opinión no pasa nada. Cualquier persona, comunidad o la Asociación de Longkos pueden retirarse del proyecto cuando quieran si así lo decide(n). Esto no traerá ningún problema, e incluso, si así lo quiere(n), toda la información que ya haya(mos) compartido será devuelta y/o borrada.

Si decidimos/decido participar ¿Nuestros/mi nombre(s) será(n) dado(s) a conocer o podemos/puedo elegir ser anónimo(s)?

En primer lugar, la Asociación de Longkos se pronunciará al respecto, y dependiendo de lo acordado, a cada persona se le da la opción de elegir si quiere que su nombre sea dado a conocer, o que permanezca secreto. Es su decisión, y se preguntará siempre antes de empezar cualquier tipo de actividad para evitar malos entendidos y proteger la privacidad de quienes elijan ser anónimos.

Para quienes elijan permanecer anónimos se usarán pseudónimos, es decir un nombre falso que no tenga nada que ver con el nombre real, para proteger su identidad. Tampoco se sacarán fotos que los comprometan.

Junto con la Asociación de Longkos, se hará un plan que funcione lo mejor posible para asegurar la máxima seguridad a toda la información recolectada en este proyecto. En general, se piensa mantener la información guardada con llave, y en el caso de información que esté en el computador, se va a usar una contraseña secreta para evitar que nadie no autorizado la pueda ver.

¿Qué uso se le dará a la información que salga de este proyecto?

En primera instancia, esta información será usada para que Marcela escriba su Tesis de Doctorado, así como también se publicarán los resultados en artículos de revistas académicas y conferencias.

Pero independiente de eso, la idea es que le saquemos el máximo provecho a lo que compartamos y aprendamos de esta investigación. Por eso, la idea es que entre todos decidamos qué hacemos con los resultados de este proyecto.

¿Qué hago si tengo alguna duda o comentario?

Si quiere preguntar algo o hacer algún comentario, ahora o en el futuro, por favor llame o escriba a Marcela A. Palomino Schabach, xxxxx (dirección y teléfono en Chile), o a map122@student.canterbury.ac.nz.

Este proyecto está siendo supervisado por Dr. Julie Cupples y Dr. Nicole Gombay del Departamento de Geografía de la Universidad de Canterbury, por lo que si desea contactarse con ellas puede escribirles a julie.cupples@canterbury.ac.nz o nicole.gombay@canterbury.ac.nz respectivamente, o por correo normal a University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, New Zealand. Alternativamente, las puede llamar al número +64-3- 3642987.

Este proyecto ha sido aprobado por el Comité de Ética de la Universidad de Canterbury.

ENGLISH VERSION

Department of Geography

Information sheet for communities members

This information will be shared with the communities members collectively in the first meeting, and then individually before each participant first interview.

Thank you for your interest in this project. It is very important that you know this information before you decide whether to participate or not in this project.

What is this project about and what is its aim?

This research project is being conducted as part of a PhD being completed by Marcela A. Palomino Schalscha at the University of Canterbury, in New Zealand.

The name of this project is "Making development, making a living. Development discourses and practices among the Pehuenche communities in the Queuco Valley, Alto Bio Bio, Chile".

This project aims to study the ideas about development held by the communities. This means, to understand its meaning for the communities, and also how these ideas are negotiated with other people and institutions.

This is important to recognize that "development" is not the same for everybody, and that we need to understand how it is interpreted by different peoples and communities to search for more democratic, respectful and participative ways to understand and work in development, because choosing the development one wants is a right. That's why it's expected that this work will be useful for the communities themselves, as well as for researchers, academics and policy makers/implementers.

Who is going to participate in this research project?

All the communities and persons from the Queuco Valley who want to, will participate in this project. We will be very grateful if you decide to participate, but if for any reason you decide not to, there will be no disadvantage.

It is very important that first the Longkos and communities leaders, through the Asociación de Longkos del Valle del Queuco, come to an agreement about their interest in the completion of this research. If the research is supported, then each person will also individually decide if he/she wants to participate.

Together with community members and leaders, this research will also involve the participation of people working in NGOs and other relevant institutions in Alto Bio Bio, as well as some Mapuche leaders at a national level.

If I/we decide that we/I want to participate. What will we/I have to do?

If you choose to take part on this project, you will participate in one or more interviews. These can be individual or group interviews. The time and place of the interviews will be agreed in advance between all the participants, to suit all of us as much as possible.

The interviews will last between half an hour to three hours, and this will also be agreed in advance so that all we can organize our time.

The topics of the interviews will be agreed with the Asociación de Longkos previously, and the idea is that in all the interviews we can talk, know and learn from each other.

In addition, Marcela will participate in activities in the communities to which she is invited and welcomed.

If we/I say we/I want to participate, but later we/I change my mind. What will happen?

If you change your mind, nothing bad will happen. Any person, community or even the Asociación de Longkos may withdraw from the project whenever they decide it. This will not bring any problem or harm, and if you want to, all the information we have already shared will be returned and /or deleted.

If we/I decide we/I want to participate. Will our/my name(s) made public or can we/I choose to remain anonymous?

In the first place, the Asociación de Longkos will decide on this matter, and depending on what is agreed, each person will be given the option to choose whether they want their name to be released, or to remain secret. It will be your choice, and it will be always asked before starting any kind of activity to avoid misunderstandings and to protect the privacy of those who choose to be anonymous.

For those who choose to remain anonymous, pseudonyms will be used, which means the use of a false name that has no relation to your real name, in order to protect your identity. Pictures that reveal your identity will not be used in publication.

Together with the Asociación de Longkos, a plan will be made to ensure the maximum security of all the information collected in this project. In general terms, the idea is to keep the information securely stored, and in the case of information that is on the computer, a secret password will be used to prevent access to unauthorized people.

What use will be given to the information generated in this project?

This information will be used by Marcela in her doctoral thesis, and also will be published in journal articles and conferences.

In addition, the idea is that we draw maximum benefit to what we share and learn from this investigation. Therefore, the idea is that among us all we decide what to do with the results of this project. What must we/I do if we/I have any question or comment?

If you want to ask anything or make any comments, now or in the future, please call or write to Marcela A. Palomino Schelscha, xxxxx (address and telephone number in Chile), or to map122@student.canterbury.ac.nz.

This project is being supervised by Dr. Julie Cupples and Dr. Nicole Gombay, both from the Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, and if you wish to contact them, you can email them to julie.cupples@canterbury.ac.nz or nicole.gombay@canterbury.ac.nz, or write to University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, New Zealand. Alternatively, you can phone them to +64-3-3642987.

This project has been approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

SPANISH VERSION

Departamento de Geografía

Hoja de información para personas externas a las comunidades

Gracias por su interés en este proyecto. Es importante que usted conozca esta información antes de decidir si desea o no participar en este proyecto.

¿Qué es este proyecto y cuáles su objetivo?

Este proyecto de investigación, es parte de un Doctorado que Marcela A. Palomino Schalscha esta realizando en la Universidad de Canterbury, en Nueva Zelanda.

El nombre de este proyecto es "Hacer nuestras vidas, hacer desarrollo. Discursos y prácticas acerca de desarrollo en las comunidades Pe huenches del valle del Río Queuco, Alto Bio Bio, Chile".

Este proyecto busca estudiar las ideas acerca del "desarrollo" que tienen las comunidades Pe huenches del valle del Queuco, Alto Bio Bio. Esto significa comprender su significado para las comunidades, y también, entender cómo estas ideas son negociadas con otras personas e instituciones.

Esto es importante para poder reconocer que "desarrollo" no es lo mismo para todos, y que es necesario entender cómo distintas personas o comunidades lo interpretan para así buscar maneras más democráticas, respetuosas y participativas de pensar y trabajar por el desarrollo, ya que elegir el propio desarrollo que se quiere es un derecho. Por eso, se espera que este trabajo sea útil para las comunidades mismas, para los investigadores y académicos, y también para quienes hacen y aplican las políticas públicas.

¿Quiénes participarán en este proyecto de investigación?

En primer lugar, participarán en este proyecto las comunidades y personas del Valle del Queuco que así lo deseen. Además, se incluirán personas de ONG y otras instituciones importantes en Alto Bio Bio, así como también a dirigentes Mapuche a nivel nacional.

A quienes deseen participar, se lo agradeceremos muchísimo, pero si por cualquier motivo se decide no participar, no habrá ningún inconveniente.

Si decido participar ¿qué tendré que hacer?

Si decide ser parte de este proyecto, se le harán una o varias entrevistas. El horario y lugar de las entrevistas será acordado de ante mano para que nos acomode lo más posible.

Las entrevistas durarán entre media a una hora, lo que también será acordado de ante mano.

Si digo que quiero participar pero después cambio de opinión ¿Qué pasa?

Cualquier persona puede retirarse del proyecto cuando quieran si así lo decide. Esto no traerá ningún problema, e incluso, si así lo quiere, toda la información que ya haya compartido será devuelta y/o borrada.

Si decido participar ¿Mi nombre será dado a conocer o puedo elegir permanecer anónimo?

El que su identidad sea confidencial o pública es su decisión, y le se preguntará antes de empezar la entrevista para evitar malos entendidos y proteger la privacidad de quienes elijan ser anónimos.

Para quienes elijan permanecer anónimos se usarán pseudónimos, es decir un nombre falso que no tenga nada que ver con el nombre real, para proteger su identidad. Tampoco se sacarán fotos que lo comprometan.

Toda la información recopilada será guardada bajo llave, y en el caso de información que esté en el computador, se usará una contraseña secreta para evitar que gente no autorizada la pueda acceder.

¿Qué uso se le dará a la información que salga de este proyecto?

En primera instancia, esta información será usada para que Marcela escriba su Tesis de Doctorado, así como también se publicarán los resultados en artículos de revistas académicas y conferencias.

Pero independiente de eso, la idea es que le saquemos el máximo provecho a lo que compartamos y aprendamos de esta investigación. Por eso, la idea es que entre todos decidamos qué hacemos con los resultados de este proyecto.

¿Qué hago si tengo alguna duda o comentario?

Si quiere preguntar algo o hacer algún comentario, ahora o en el futuro, por favor llame o escriba a Marcela A. Palomino Schabach, xxxxx (dirección y teléfono en Chile), o a map122@student.canterbury.ac.nz.

Este proyecto está siendo supervisado por Dr. Julie Cupples y Dr. Nicole Gombay del Departamento de Geografía de la Universidad de Canterbury, por lo que si desea contactarse con ellas puede escribirles a julie.cupples@canterbury.ac.nz o nicole.gombay@canterbury.ac.nz respectivamente, o por correo normal a University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, New Zealand. Alternativamente, las puede llamar al número +64-3- 3642987.

Este proyecto ha sido aprobado por el Comité de Ética de la Universidad de Canterbury.

ENGLISH VERSION

Department of Geography

Information sheet for extra-community individuals.

Thank you for your interest in this project. It is very important you read this information before you decide whether to participate or not in this project.

What is this project about and what is its aim?

This research project is being conducted as part of a PhD being completed by Marcela A. Palomino Schalscha at the University of Canterbury, in New Zealand.

The name of this project is "Making development, making a living. Development discourses and practices among the Pehuenche communities in the Queuoco Valley, Alto Bio Bio, Chile".

This project aims to study the ideas about development held by the communities. This means, to understand its meaning for the communities, and also how these ideas are negotiated with other people and institutions.

This is important to recognize that "development" is not the same for everybody, and that we need to understand how it is interpreted by different peoples and communities to search for more democratic, respectful and participative ways to understand and work in development, because choosing the development one wants is a right. That's why it's expected that this work will be useful for the communities themselves, as well as for researchers, academics and policy makers/implementers.

Who is going to participate in this research project?

In first instance, communities' individuals from the Queuoco Valley who want to will participate in this project. Also, this research will involve people working in NGO's and other relevant institutions in Alto Bio Bio, as well as some Mapuche leaders at a national level.

We will be very grateful if you decide to participate, but if for any reason you decide not to, there will be no disadvantage.

If I decide that I want to participate, what will I have to do?

If you choose to take part on this project, you will participate in one or more interviews. The time and place of the interviews will be agreed.

The interviews will last between half an hour to one hour, and this will also be agreed in advance.

If I say I want to participate, but later I change my mind, what will happen?

Any participant can withdraw from the project whenever they decide it. This will not bring any problem or harm, and if you want to, all the information you have already share will be returned and /or deleted.

If I decide I want to participate, will my name made public or can I choose to remain anonymous?

Each person will be given the option to choose whether they want their name to be released, or to remain secret. It will be your choice, and it will be always asked before starting the interview to avoid misunderstandings and to protect the privacy of those who choose to be anonymous.

For those who choose to remain anonymous, pseudonyms will be used, which means the use of a false name that has no relation to your real name, in order to protect your identity. Pictures that reveal your identity will not be used in publication.

The information from this research will be locked, and in the case of the information kept on the computer, a secret password will be used to prevent access to unauthorized people.

What use will be given to the information generated in this project?

This information will be used by Marcela in her doctoral thesis, and also will be published in journal articles and conferences.

In addition, the idea is that we draw maximum benefit to what we share and learn from this investigation. Therefore, the idea is that among us all we decide what to do with the results of this project.

What must we/I do if we/I have any question or comment?

If you want to ask anything or make any comments, now or in the future, please call or write to Marcela A. Palomino Schelscha, xxxxx (address and telephone number in Chile), or to map122@student.canterbury.ac.nz.

This project is being supervised by Dr. Julie Cupples and Dr. Nicole Gombay, both from the Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, and if you wish to contact them, you can email them to julie.cupples@canterbury.ac.nz or nicole.gombay@canterbury.ac.nz, or write to University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, New Zealand. Alternatively, you can phone them to +64-3-3642987.

This project has been approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

SPANISH VERSION

Departamento de Geografía

Marcela A. Palomino Schalscha

XXXX (Dirección en Chile)

XXX (fecha)

Formulario de consentimiento para personas externas a las comunidades

"Hacer nuestras vidas, hacer desarrollo. Discursos y prácticas acerca de desarrollo en las comunidades Pehuenches del valle del Río Queuco, Alto Bio Bio, Chile".

He leído y entendido la descripción del presente proyecto. Sobre esta base, estoy de acuerdo en participar en el proyecto, y doy mi consentimiento para la publicación de los resultados del proyecto.

Entiendo que puedo retirarme del proyecto en cualquier momento, incluyendo el retiro de cualquier información que haya entregado.

Se que el proyecto ha sido revisado y aprobado por el Comité de Ética de la Universidad de Canterbury.

Yo elijo libremente que para este proyecto mi identidad *(por favor elija UNA opción)*:

☐ sea pública

O

☐ permanezca confidencial, por lo que mi anonimato será preservado.

NOMBRE: _____

FIRMA: _____

FECHA: _____



ENGLISH VERSION

Department of Geography

Marcela A. Palomino Schalscha

XXXX (Address in Chile)

XXX (date)

Consent form for extra-communities individuals

"Making development, making a living. Development discourses and practices among the
Pehuenche communities in the Queuco Valley, Alto Bio Bio, Chile"

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis, I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to the publication of the results of the project.

I understand that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

I note that the project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

For this project, I freely choose my identity (*please choose ONE*):

☐ to be public

OR

☐ to remain confidential, so confidentiality will be preserved.

NAME: _____

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

SPANISH VERSION

Departamento de Geografía



Lista de verificación sobre información y consentimiento: Asociación de Longkos

“Hacer nuestras vidas, hacer desarrollo. Discursos y prácticas acerca de desarrollo en las comunidades Pehuenches del valle del Río Queuco, Alto Bio Bio, Chile”.

Este formulario será llenado durante la primera reunión de presentación con la Asociación de Longkos.

Fecha: _____

¿La Asociación de Longkos comprende plenamente el proyecto de acuerdo a todo lo incluido en la Hoja de Información?

SI___ No___

¿Se han respondido todas las preguntas de la Asociación respecto al proyecto?

SI___ No___

¿La Asociación acepta libremente participar del proyecto y que los resultados sean posteriormente publicados?

SI___ No___

¿La Asociación entiende que puede retirarse del proyecto en cualquier momento y que puede solicitar también el retiro de toda información que haya proveído?

SI___ No___

¿La Asociación sabe que este proyecto ha sido revisado y aprobado por el Comité de Ética de la Universidad de Canterbury?

SI___ No___

ENGLISH VERSION



Department of Geography

Information and consent Checklist: Asociación de Longkos

"Making development, making a living. Development discourses and practices among the Pehuenche communities in the Queuco Valley, Alto Bío Bío, Chile"

This form will be filled during the first introductory meeting with the Asociación de Longkos.

Date: _____

Does the Asociación de Longkos fully understand the project, according to everything included in the Information Sheet?

YES___ NO___

Have all the Asociación's questions regarding the project been answered?

YES___ NO___

Does the Asociación freely agree to participate in the project and that its results subsequently be published?

YES___ NO___

Does the Asociación understand they can withdraw from the project at any time and can also request the withdrawal of any information they have provided?

YES___ NO___

Does the Asociación know that this project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee?

YES___ NO___

SPANISH VERSION

Departamento de Geografía



Lista de verificación sobre información y consentimiento: Miembros individuales de las comunidades.

"Hacer nuestras vidas, hacer desarrollo. Discursos y prácticas acerca de desarrollo en las comunidades Pehuenches del valle del Río Queuco, Alto Bio Bio, Chile".

Este formulario debe ser llenado antes de entrevistar por primera vez a cada miembro de las comunidades.

Nombre del participante: _____

Fecha: _____

¿El participante comprende plenamente el proyecto de acuerdo a todo lo incluido en la Hoja de Información?

SI___ No___

¿Se han respondido todas las preguntas del participante respecto al proyecto?

SI___ No___

¿El participante acepta libremente participar del proyecto y que los resultados sean posteriormente publicados?

SI___ No___

¿El participante entiende que puede retirarse del proyecto en cualquier momento y que puede solicitar también el retiro de toda información que haya proveído?

SI___ No___

¿El participante sabe que este proyecto ha sido revisado y aprobado por el Comité de Ética de la Universidad de Canterbury?

SI___ No___

ENGLISH VERSION

Department of Geography

Information and consent Checklist: Individual community members.

**"Making development, making a living. Development discourses and practices among the
Pehuenche communities in the Queuco Valley, Alto Bío Bío, Chile"**

This form must be filled before interviewing for the first time each member of the communities.

Participant name: _____

Date: _____

Does the participant fully understand the project, according to everything
included in the Information Sheet?

YES___ NO___

Have all the participants' questions regarding the project been answered?

YES___ NO___

Does the participant freely agree to participate in the project and that its results
subsequently be published?

YES___ NO___

Does the participant understand he/she can withdraw from the project at any time
and can also request the withdrawal of any information he/she has provided?

YES___ NO___

Does the participant know that this project has been reviewed
and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee?

YES___ NO___

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